

## Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium (400–1453)

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN  
PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE  
DENKSCHRIFTEN, 356. BAND

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VERÖFFENTLICHUNGEN ZUR  
**BYZANZFORSCHUNG**

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON  
PETER SOUSTAL UND CHRISTIAN GASTGEBER

BAND XI



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**OAW**

Wien 2007

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BAND XI

# MATERIAL CULTURE AND WELL-BEING IN BYZANTIUM (400–1453)

Proceedings of the International Conference  
(Cambridge, 8–10 September 2001)

EDITED BY  
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## Editors' Preface / Vorwort der Herausgeber

The XVI International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Vienna 1981) for the first time within such academic circles, offered up to its participants an independent session "Realienkunde – Material Culture". Fully twenty-five years had passed since the publication of the monumental work of Phaidon Kukules (Byzantine Bios and Politismos). Set around the common themes in Kukules and following his lead, a series of more in-depth, innovative individual studies were composed, an umbrella research-framework (structure-method) was engendered, and mechanisms for international, inter-faculty and inter-disciplinary academic co-operation were put into place. The organisers of the 1981 Vienna Congress, who were staff drawn out from the Institute of Byzantine Studies (founded by the late Herbert Hunger), at the University of Vienna, simultaneously yet independently, set out to intensify basic research on Byzantine Material Culture and Everyday Life within their institute. Numerous articles and books since published by this institute testify to this.

Twenty years later, Anna Muthesius (Lucy Cavendish College, University of Cambridge) devised the theme title of "Material Culture and Well-Being" for a Conference (Cambridge University 8-10 September 2001), which she organised, with specialist academic input from Austria, Germany and Greece. Taking "Well-Being", (which embraced both "mentalities" and "materialism") as the main theme running through the Conference, academics from twelve countries presented diverse facets of "Every Day" living in Byzantium, that ranged across from: diet to dress; from occupations to living conditions; from use of fragrances to an examination of the nature of medical (physical, mental and emotional) "Well-Being" amongst the Byzantines.

The publication of these Conference Proceedings, as was pre-determined at the organisational stage, was to be undertaken by the Vienna Byzantinists, namely by Michael Grünbart, Ewald Kislinger and Dionysios Stathakopoulos (since January 2005 at King's College, University of London). They edited both content and structure of all papers. Anna Muthesius complemented this work and, in addition, corrected the use of English across all the individual conference papers published here. With regard to a number of individual papers technical editing was carried out by Monika Hasitzka, Mihailo Popovic and by Christian Gastgeber, for which work the editors here express their gratitude. Particular thanks are due to the Austrian Academy of Sciences, especially to Professor Otto Kresten, who as Director of the Kommission für Byzantinistik (since 2006 Institut für Byzanzforschung), undertook to include these Conference Proceedings within the publication series of this Commission / Institute.

The publication of these Conference Proceedings in 2007 acts as a timely "follow-on" from the London XXI International Congress in 2006. This Congress once again revealed a broad interest in and dedication to the theme of the Material World of Byzantium. We trust that our present Anglo-Austrian publication of studies on Byzantine Material Culture and Well-Being will act to provide a suitable and complimentary impulse for the promotion of the subject.

Der XVI. Internationale Kongreß für Byzantinistik in Wien 1981 bot erstmals in solchem Rahmen eine eigene Sektion zu „Realienkunde – Materielle Kultur“. Es galt, rund ein Vierteljahrhundert nach Abschluß des monumentalen Werkes von Phaidon Kukules über „Byzantinon Bios kai Politismos“, ihm nachfolgende, vertiefende und innovative Einzelstudien auf eine gemeinsame Basis zu stellen, einen methodisch-strukturellen Überbau zu schaffen, fachinterne und interdisziplinäre Kooperation anzuregen. Zugleich bekundete der Kongreßveranstalter, die von Herbert Hunger gegründete Wiener Schule der Byzantinistik, die eigene Absicht, auch in der Grundlagenforschung zu Sachkultur und Lebenslauf aktiv zu werden, wie dies seitdem an zahlreichen Aufsätzen und Monographien ablesbar ist.

Zwanzig Jahre später, im September 2001, beabsichtigte es ein internationaler Kongreß in Cambridge, federführend organisiert von Anna Muthesius (Lucy Cavendish College, Universität Cambridge), fachlich v..a. unterstützt aus Österreich, Deutschland und Griechenland, inzwischen auf diesem Feld erzielte Fortschritt-

te vergleichend zu dokumentieren. Mit „Well-Being“ als Leitthema, das sowohl die „mentalités“ als auch die materielle Ausformung umfaßt, untersuchten Wissenschaftler aus zwölf Ländern diverse Facetten der Alltags- und Berufswelt, von der Ernährung über die Kleidung, Wohnbedingungen und Duftstoffen bis hin zum medizinischen Wohlbefinden der Byzantiner.

Die Aktenpublikation wurde, wie schon im Vorfeld der Tagung abgesprochen, organisatorisch von der Wiener Byzantinistik übernommen, wobei konkret Michael Grünbart, Ewald Kislinger und Dionysios Stathakopoulos (letzterer seit Jänner 2005 King's College London) die einzelnen Beiträge inhaltlich betreuten und formal vereinheitlichten. Ihnen stand Anna Muthesius zur Seite, welche zudem für das korrekte Englisch der einzelnen Beiträge sorgte. An einzelnen Beiträgen wirkten redaktionell-technisch hilfreich Monika Hasitzka, Mihailo Popovic und Christian Gastgeber mit, denen die Herausgeber hierfür zu danken haben. Besonderer Dank gilt der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, speziell w. M. Prof. Otto Kresten als Obmann der Kommission für Byzantinistik (seit 2006 zugehörig dem Institut für Byzanzforschung) für die Aufnahme der Publikation in die Veröffentlichungsreihe dieser Einrichtung.

Das Erscheinungsdatum der „Proceedings“, 2007 folgt zeitlich auf den XXI. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongress in London. Abermals nach Wien 1981 wurde dort der materiellen Welt von Byzanz inhaltlich breites Interesse gewidmet. Wir hoffen, daß die vorliegende, österreichisch-englische Publikation derartigen Studien zum byzantinischen Alltagsleben zusätzliche Impulse vermitteln wird.

Wien – Cambridge  
Autumn / Herbst 2006

Michael Grünbart, Ewald Kislinger,  
Anna Muthesius, Dionysios Stathakopoulos

## Aims and Structure of the Conference

The International Conference entitled 'Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium' (Cambridge University, 8-10 September, 2001) explored some key aspects of the relationship between material conditions and states of being in Byzantium between the fourth and the fifteenth centuries. Studies on Material culture so far have concentrated upon the exploration of living conditions, occupations, nutrition, clothing, health and housing in Byzantium. The body/mind debate about physical and spiritual needs and desires, resulting, if accomplished, in Well-Being, has not previously been aired in the context of material culture. By relating the two branches of thought (material and philosophical), the conference probed the idea that 'Well-Being' was a largely 'unspoken' aspect of existence in Byzantium, one that the texts would not necessarily highlight.

The five part thematic divisions of the Conference

- Living Conditions and Work
- Byzantine Medicine
- Byzantine Diet
- Material Culture and Identity
- The Cultural Artefact

were intended to broadly cover key areas of debate in material culture studies. The sections incorporated material artefacts, and/or examined processes and use bases, whilst also exploring philosophical and theological issues related to 'Well-Being' as the situation demanded. Individual topics within these five themes included architecture and city planning; home building regulations and issues of neighbourliness; nutrition and diet, issues of supply and rural economy; health, hospitals, surgery, medicine and medical saints; gender; textiles and dress, and identity; ecclesiastical ritual in urban space; ceremonial display; mass spectacle, and the belief in the supernatural; monastic life and dedication; pilgrimage and its impacts abroad and remnants of the 'hidden' cultural, diplomatic and trade exchanges between Byzantium and the West.

The conference looked at the relationship of the material and the immaterial within states of being, and to do so it advocated the amalgamation of object / picture / text based analysis through application of cross-disciplinary approaches. It was clear too, that the skills of different types of researchers were relevant. Some speakers were professional practitioners (doctors, town planners, senior clergy, senior churchmen and brothers of monastic foundations). Other speakers came from the world of the theoretically based academics (including historians, art historians, history of law specialists, archaeologists, philologists and literary scholars). Yet other speakers represented those trained to house and interpret the cultural artefacts of Byzantine civilisation (Museum Directors and Keepers, Church leaders and the Greek Orthodox monastic community). The conference emphasised that the study of Byzantine material culture depends upon close co-operation between these different elements.

A list of Institutions represented at the Conference is given below:

- Archbishopric of Sinai
- Greek and Russian Orthodox Church, Cambridge
- Orthodox Archbishopric of Great Britain
- Synod of the Greek Orthodox Church, Athens
- Israeli Exploration Society, Jerusalem
- Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens
- Museum of London
- Bulgarian Academy of Arts and Sciences, Sofia
- Wellcome Trust Centre for the History of Medicine, University of London, University College, London
- Surrey Institute of Art and Design, University College
- Universities of: Athens, Birmingham, Cambridge, Cyprus, London, Madrid, Moscow, Munich, Naples, Newcastle, Oxford, Patras, Paris, Sussex, Stuttgart, Vienna, Zurich.

Methods and approaches were wide-ranging and they reflected the different background occupations of the speakers. The professions (town planning and surgery) demanded a combination of textual and empirical approaches. Those who were practitioners could lend their practical knowledge to the interpretation of the textual evidence. They also made use of pictorial sources and of surviving artefacts to reference historical continuity in processes within their own professions.

In a related way, the ‘practising’ theologians, (senior clergy or monks) expressed living Orthodox beliefs in the light of textual evidence, and where appropriate they used pictorial evidence too. The Byzantinists tended to combine textual analysis with visual analysis and to consider the historical context of their source materials. Of those scholars reliant solely upon documentary sources, a number made significant strides. By giving special thought to how ‘Well-Being’ might have played a part in the creation of those sources, in the context of Byzantine domestic building laws and their impact on neighbourliness, for example, some fascinating details emerged. This kind of much closer and applied reading of textual sources also yielded unexpected new knowledge about attitudes to food and drink and valuable re-assessment of text based production and market analysis techniques. All the speakers, who adopted the medium of textual analysis in the context of material culture studies, appreciated this need for deeper and more broadly contextual interpretation, and there were important new insights into areas not traditionally approached. These areas included questions of perception, aesthetic experience, sensory response, language as communication across cultures with problems inherent in translation, and issues of creation of popular vocabularies.

The possible benefits and pitfalls of using pictorial sources were demonstrated by different speakers. Here it was clear that where an established religious iconography existed, iconological interpretation was possible. However, where secular artefacts were illustrated in miniatures or in paintings there were no ways of assessing accuracy, other than through cross-referencing these illustrations with the evidence found on dated and securely documented surviving Byzantine objects.

Some of those speakers charged with the archiving and exhibition of Byzantine material culture, indicated the role of typology and the need for analysis of materials and techniques. In the context of academic research, which involves the assignment of date and provenance to material objects, as also in the context of conservation within museums, the scientific analysis of the objects of Byzantine material culture also plays an important part.

Thus, empirical and non-empirical approaches, textual and non-textual analysis are important in material culture studies. Visual analysis and object based research fall on the empirical side of the divide, whilst textual interpretation remains a valuable non-empirical tool.

The Cambridge meeting contributed to the field on the level of trying to understand both physical and symbolic identities of a variety of objects and social structures central to daily life as experienced at different social levels. The chosen themes threw light on the quality of life (element of Well-Being) that might have been enjoyed at any one social level. Some of the papers also dispelled earlier set ideas about disadvantages suffered by lower social ranks in Byzantium. The conference illustrated that first hand knowledge of geographical terrain, processes of healing, processes of manufacture, systems of city planning, etc. could act as useful tools for assessing the physical reality of Byzantine living. The conference equally showed the importance of the understanding of the symbolic function of elements of material culture, for lending identity to individuals and institutions, meaning to their actions, and value to the contexts and situations in which they found themselves: all key aspects of Byzantine daily existence.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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tion on the theme of Well-Being as a physical concept in the context of Byzantine “Dasein”, itself the theme for a future conference.

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The opening address was graciously prepared by his reverence Archbishop Damianos. He has done much to communicate across the world, the nature of and the role of the rich Byzantine cultural heritage at Sinai, by exhibition and publication of the monastery’s incomparable treasures (Father Justin kindly read out the paper of Archbishop Damianos).

I wish to sincerely thank all the speakers, who so generously gave of their time not only to prepare papers for the conference itself, but also later to further enhance these papers for publication in many ways.

Last but not least, I would also like to thank my Ph.D. student M.J. House and her husband for their great assistance in running the slide projection element of the Conference and for their general helpful advice to the speakers on related matters. To the bursars of the two Cambridge Colleges, (Lucy Cavendish and St. Catharine’s), who ensured the domestic comfort of the delegates, I offer my sincere thanks.

Anna Muthesius



PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
CONFERENCE





ANNA MUTHESIUS

## Introduction

### Studies on Material Culture – Some General Considerations\*

The question of the definition of the term ‘(Byzantine) Material Culture’ is central to the development of material culture studies in the Byzantine field. Up to the present time, there is no all-round and comprehensive agreement about precisely what this general term covers, or about which research methods might best serve this new discipline. Outside the field of Byzantine studies, there has been earlier extensive discussion about approaches to the ‘everyday or to daily life’ as manifested in studies such as ‘Realienkunde’, or ‘Sachkultur’ and other specialised areas of investigation occupied with object based analysis. This paper presents below, a summary overview of some of the key discussions, for consideration in relation to the development of Byzantine Material Culture studies.

#### WHAT DO SOME EARLIER DISCUSSIONS POINT TO?

In medieval material culture studies most of the discussion has been amongst scholars of western civilisation. The key issue has been to determine what is meant by ‘material culture’ as a generic term across disciplines, and to define ‘daily life’ in regard to the term. A number of centres of study (including Warsaw, Krems, Vienna, Cambridge), have engendered useful debate around major issues important to the development of material culture studies in general.

By 1969 the Krems Institut für Mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs, had been founded and Kühnel became its first director. This institute was engaged with folk-narrative research and with object centred studies as allied to a variety of disciplines including archaeology, social and economic history and historical anthropology<sup>1</sup>. Kühnel, writing in 1976, traced the history of ‘Realienkunde’ in Austria back to the eighteenth century. He outlined the contribution of archaeologists, cultural historians, art historians, philologists and museum directors to the field<sup>2</sup>. He also noted the importance from the nineteenth century onwards, of exhibitions which displayed objects in their spiritual as well as their cultural contexts. Kühnel advocated the writing of inventories of surviving objects and the collation of visual and of written source materials.

In the late 1970s Krems scholars joined with scholars from the universities of Munich, Göttingen and Münster amongst other places, to debate and publish papers on the theme of ‘Geschichte der Alltagskultur’<sup>3</sup>. This collection of studies highlighted some important issues around the definitions of ‘Sachkultur’, ‘Volkskunde als Alltagswissenschaft’, and ‘materielle Kultur’. The symposium also indicated the complex inter-disciplinary methods that were emerging around this area of study. The different disciplines accorded on the fact that object based, visual and written source evidence analyses were necessary. Wiegmann pointed out that the parallel study of word and image had been in operation as early as the second half of the nineteenth century<sup>4</sup>. In 1909 the inter-disciplinary periodical for ‘historische Sachforschung’, entitled “Wörter und

\* The author is indebted to E. Kislinger / Vienna for reading the manuscript and for suggestions regarding bibliography and for providing additional details about the exchange of ideas between institutions in Krems, Vienna and Berlin.

<sup>1</sup> H. APPELT, *Mittelalterliche Realienkunde als Forschungsaufgabe*, in: *Europäische Sachkultur des Mittelalters (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 374 = Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs 4)*. Wien 1980, 7–12. On the activities of the institute now see <http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at>.

<sup>2</sup> H. KÜHNEL, *Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit. Versuch einer Darstellung. Erfordernis der Gegenwart*, in: *Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von K. Lechner (= Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich N.F. XXXVII 1965–1967)*. Wien 1967, 215–47.

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte der Alltagskultur*, ed. G. W. WIEGELMANN (*Beiträge zur Volkskultur in Nordwestdeutschland herausgegeben von der Volkskundlichen Kommission für Westfalen, Landschaftsverband Westfalen-Lippe. Heft 21*). Münster 1980.

<sup>4</sup> WIEGELMANN, *Einführung*, in: *Geschichte der Alltagskultur* 11–20.

Sachen", already had appeared. Folklore narrative, object based studies, were promoting an 'archaeology of the Middle Ages'.

Another factor that was to play a part in the material culture discussions involved the French Annales school, whereby the history of civilisations was viewed as an exploration of social and economic themes in relation to processes of cultural development. This school was occupied with the problem of how representative were the sources used as evidence. It was not sufficient merely to enquire were there sufficient sources. It was necessary to gain an impression of 'medieval mentalities' to avoid misinterpretation of the sources. This 'new historical' approach lent itself to inter-disciplinary study of daily life, with recourse also both to related philosophical and sociological discourses<sup>5</sup>. Wiegmann noted the contributions of social science and of historical anthropology to the early debates on material culture. He further stressed that archival research and a thorough study of inventories would provide rich ground for the assembly of object inventories, and that inter-disciplinary exploration of the assembled objects would follow.

Jaritz from the Krems Institute looked at problems surrounding the quality of sources used as evidence in material culture studies. He broached the thorny issue of the interpretation of sources<sup>6</sup>. Written sources presented problems of the use of literary conventions and problems of determination of the relationship between person-/object. With pictorial sources, questions of authenticity: that is of 'reality as against imagined reality', were highlighted. In object centred analysis, lack of source material occurred and there was an imbalance for instance, in the source availability for analysis of the poorer as against the richer sections of society. Even in the case of objects listed in inventories, there remained the problem of relating the named objects to their everyday uses. It was not easy to determine what was an everyday use, nor to recognise which practices might reflect social norms.

Everyday history demanded its own methods of research; it moved beyond the usual histories as related to states of being, and it aimed towards a 'total' picture. This demanded a new historical approach, which amalgamated socio-economics, technology, and the history of mentalities. Earlier structural and narrative historical approaches were inadequate to encompass the 'everyday', which needed to be seen rather as a 'representative sample' history. There would never be sufficient sources to cover all aspects of daily life and it would be important to look out for the 'unusual' rather than for the 'exceptional and the individual' within the available evidence. The historian of 'daily life' had to seek out 'types representative of their time' but usually this was possible only where sources abounded. There was also the problem of establishing what topics were relevant under the heading of 'daily life' and here Jaritz suggested: status; occupation; background; education; mentality; age; gender; and religious leanings, as possible examples.

The study demanded a consideration of what stood as a social norm and of whether different levels of social reality were possible. For example, how did the individual reality compare to what was considered the norm, and how far did either one or both of these states compare with the perceived reality of the society as a whole?

Documented norms were not necessarily realities: both written and visual sources could engage with fiction and with idealisation. Even if fiction and idealisation were evident, it would be possible to seek a method for their analysis, towards the appreciation of social reality. Material culture was clearly a type of history but where did it belong in regard to specific economic or social histories, or in relation to political history, each of which had their own particular emphasis. A fresh approach to the written sources was needed; an approach that took into consideration what was the intention of the writer of the source. It was also necessary to seek out unusual sources such as receipts, ledgers and so on, which might act as a counter-balance to the evidence of the usually cited sources.

Writing in 1980, Brockmann explored the relationship between 'cultural history', 'daily life history' and the 'history of material culture'<sup>7</sup>. He distinguished between the approaches of the historical anthropologist

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *La nouvelle histoire*, ed. J. LE GOFF – R. CHARTIER – J. REVEL. Paris 1978, with contributions of J. LE GOFF, *L'histoire nouvelle* (210–41) and J.-M. PESEZ, *L'histoire de la culture matérielle* (98–130).

<sup>6</sup> G. JARITZ, *Die spätmittelalterliche Stadt in der Sachkulturforschung. Problematik–Möglichkeiten–Grenzen*, in: *Geschichte der Alltagskultur* (as note 3) 53–68.

<sup>7</sup> H. BROCKMANN, *Dreimal Kulturgeschichte, Alltagsgeschichte, Geschichte der Materiellen Kultur. Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 13 (1986) 201–215.

and the historian of mentalities and he contemplated what contribution the folklorist might make. He also briefly outlined the distinct approaches of the Warsaw School and of the Krems School of material culture studies<sup>8</sup>. He outlined how the Warsaw school initially emphasised production and consumption issues (1950s–1960s), only later exploring material culture as the ‘handmaiden of living’. Essentially this approach looked at problems of the integration of material objects into life patterns, from economic and business points of view. The Krems school from the 1970s, applied research approaches from the discipline of Folk narrative studies, and it explored relationships with historical anthropology, history, sociology, art and literary scholarship.

The author also noted how Baxandall of the Warburg Institute in London, from the 1970s on, pioneered the amalgamation of historical and of art historical approaches, including a consideration of techniques and technologies, within his own branch of material culture studies<sup>9</sup>. Baxandall explored cultural artefacts in relation to technological processes and social settings, whilst also defining the political boundaries which existed within cultural landscapes. Brockmann concluded that material culture studies of whatever kind belonged to the discipline of ‘History’ and that it was perhaps secondary whether they style themselves as ‘Realienkunde’ or as ‘Kulturgeschichte’.

In 1982 an International Round table was held at Krems entitled „Die Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur des Mittelalters (Methode–Ziel–Verwirklichung)“. The proceedings (published in 1984)<sup>10</sup> are very useful for consideration of the relative contributions of a wide variety of disciplines to the field of material culture. Archaeology as well as Social and Economic History<sup>11</sup> were considered to be of central importance.

Meyer thought of archaeology as a research method and of ‘Realienkunde’ as an academic discipline, which is an interesting comment upon research of his time<sup>12</sup>. Archaeology needed to set itself the right questions to answer if it was to be of service to material culture studies. Olsen’s paper asked about what terminology the archaeologists should adopt to record finds<sup>13</sup>. Von Stromer emphasised the immense significance of technical recording from the surviving objects themselves<sup>14</sup>.

With reference to the French Annalists, Pionnier saw strength in the alliance between archaeology and history in its broadest sense. An alliance between these disciplines and ethnography was also desirable, primarily in the sense in which Levi-Strauss approached the field of ‘understanding mentalities’<sup>15</sup>. Ethnographers were not generally sufficiently engaged with the source evidence housed in museums she felt. Dirlmeier noted the attempts of scholars to synthesise historical and archaeological approaches<sup>16</sup>. The study of manufacture, products and processes belonged to historical archaeology, as did the areas of nutrition and housing. Specific types of historians might contribute to specialised areas: for instance, economic historians to the question of taxation in relation to urban and rural social structures, or in relation to housing and comfort, weights and measures etc. In the case of metrology the written evidence analysed by the economic historian might be cross-referenced to the archaeological evidence of surviving weights and measures. Dirlmeier considered economic history a sister discipline of material culture studies.

<sup>8</sup> BROCKMANN, Dreimal Kulturgeschichte 202.

<sup>9</sup> BROCKMANN, Dreimal Kulturgeschichte 210–12. M. BAXANDALL, *Painting and experience in fifteenth century Italy*. Oxford 1972; IDEM, *The Limewood sculptors of Renaissance Germany*. New Haven 1980.

<sup>10</sup> *Die Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur des Mittelalters. Methode–Ziel–Verwirklichung. Internationales Round-Table Gespräch. Krems an der Donau, 20. September 1982. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 433 = Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs 6)*. Wien 1984.

<sup>11</sup> W. RÖSENER, Sozialgeschichte und mittelalterliche Realienkunde, in: *Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur* 88–98.

<sup>12</sup> W. MEYER, Der Beitrag der Archäologie zur mittelalterlichen Realienkunde, in: *Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur* 53–9.

<sup>13</sup> R.A. OLSEN, Terminologie und Registrierung mittelalterlicher Sachgüter in Skandinavien, in: *Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur* 68–74.

<sup>14</sup> W. VON STROMER, Technikgeschichte und Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, in: *Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur* 129–39.

<sup>15</sup> F. PIONNIER, Les sources de l’histoire de la culture matérielle à la lumière des recherches récentes, in: *Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur* 23–32.

<sup>16</sup> U. DIRLMEIER, Realienkunde und mittelalterliche Wirtschaftsgeschichte Deutschlands, in: *Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur* 122–8.

Bentzien presented a picture of the relationship between 'Realienkunde' and Folklore studies<sup>17</sup>. Both were concerned with the relationship between objects and people. However, Folklore studies were primarily concerned with contemporary themes: they did not employ 'period' techniques (divisions into early, middle and later phases of historical development) in the way that historians tended to do. Folklore was not firmly categorised into historical periods.

Albeit that literary style including rhetorical devices, stylisation, caricature, parody and use of topos, might obscure fact, written sources did yield evidence of social reality. Schüppert<sup>18</sup> considered that written sources not only listed objects, and linked objects to owners, but that they also described the functions of the objects, and outlined behaviours used in their presence. Written evidence allows for the association of medieval mentalities to material culture.

A variety of historians also raised their voices to indicate the place of legal history and of economic and of social history to the development of material culture studies<sup>19</sup>. The legal historian for example, might look for reflection of sumptuary laws or of building regulations in visual records of dress or of housing, whilst from the 1970s onwards Schwarz and others had looked at the relationship between material goods and life styles<sup>20</sup>.

Kubinyi drew attention to the immense field covered by material culture studies<sup>21</sup>. He saw a problem in that scholars exploring the field could not at once be trained as historians, archaeologists, art historians, ethnographers, literary analysts and philologists. The sources belonging to the study of material culture were the sources of many disciplines, each with specialised methods of analysis. Cross-disciplinary Symposia involving close collaboration between individual specialists would be the only answer. He advocated the setting of single themes upon which these different specialists might work in common. Inter-disciplinary study by single scholars was more problematic; these scholars he felt, could function across only a limited number of disciplines<sup>22</sup>.

Such methodological discussions centred in the Krems Institute in the course of time set the standard across medieval studies and beyond that also influenced the Byzantine field. In this context it should be noted that after the completion of the monumental work of Ph. Kukules, *Byzantinon bios kai politismos* (Vie et civilisations byzantines), I–VI. Athens 1948–1955, no other all-encompassing study in Byzantine material culture appeared.<sup>23</sup> For the first time at the 16. Internationaler Kongreß für Byzantinistik 1981 in Vienna, an independent section „Realienkunde – Materielle Kultur“ (6.1–2.) was included. Most of the papers drew out few questions<sup>24</sup>, but a significant main paper by H. Köpstein (Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR) as well as a smaller communication by E. Kislinger (Institut für Byzantinistik der Universität Wien) set out the position of, the future direction of, and the inherent problems involved in this type of study<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> U. BENTZIEN, *Volkskundliche Geräteforschung und mittelalterliche Realienkunde*, in: *Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur* 140–6.

<sup>18</sup> H. SCHÜPPERT, *Der Beitrag der Literaturwissenschaft für die mittelalterliche Realienkunde*, in: *Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur* 158–67.

<sup>19</sup> G. KOCHER, *Rechtsgeschichte und mittelalterliche Realienkunde*, in: *Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur* 99–121.

<sup>20</sup> See D. W. H. SCHWARZ, *Sachgüter und Lebensformen. Einführung in die materielle Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*. Berlin 1970.

<sup>21</sup> A. KUBINYI, *Die Rolle interdisziplinärer Forschung für die mittelalterliche Realienkunde*, in: *Erforschung von Alltag und Sachkultur* 45–52.

<sup>22</sup> KUBINYI, *op. cit.* 45.

<sup>23</sup> For a general publication based on older concepts see G. WALTER, *La vie quotidienne à Byzance au siècle des Comnènes* (1081–1180). Paris 1966 and T. TALBOT RICE, *Everyday Life in Byzantium*. London – New York 1967; H. HUNGER, *Reich der Neuen Mitte*. Graz – Wien – Köln 1965.

<sup>24</sup> For example the main paper of C. MANGO, *Daily life in Byzantium*. *JÖB* 31/1 (1981) 337–53 mainly about baths and circus games or the communications of L. BOURAS, *Byzantine Lighting Devices*. *JÖB* 32/3 (1982) 479–91, G. VIKAN, *Security in Byzantium: Keys*. *JÖB* 32/3 (1982) 503–8 and J.-M. SPIESER, *Ceramique byzantine de Pergame*. *JÖB* 32/3 (1982) 561–76.

<sup>25</sup> H. KÖPSTEIN, *Gebrauchsgegenstände des Alltags in archäologischen und literarischen Quellen*. *JÖB* 31/1 (1981) 355–75; E. KISLINGER, *Aspekte der realienkundlichen Quellenauswertung*. *JÖB* 32/3 (1982) 469–78.



In 1986, these two Byzantinists followed up their discussions at a day session held between Krems and Vienna, under the organisation of H. Hundsbichler. Köpstein<sup>26</sup> looked at daily life in relation to cultural history and she considered this to be a part of historical studies in general. Object based material remains analysis was emphasised. The object, she argued, went far beyond physical reality; it was a philosophical mirror of intellectual and moral stances. Material Culture included appreciation of mentalities alongside study of the relationship of the Byzantines to their natural environment, and exploration of their social organisation, and occupational settings. Objects were both physical and symbolic aspects of material culture, and they related to people who existed on both a material and a spiritual level. She envisaged a discipline, which explored both material and spiritual endeavour as part of the creative activity of human beings. This would be a multi-disciplinary field of study, which would engage with history, philosophy, political theory, literary studies, philology, artistic production and aesthetics, and archaeology.

Kislinger<sup>27</sup> in agreement with this approach, produced a graphic tree-ring model diagram to encompass Köpstein's ideas. The innermost circle represented research on the surviving object. The next circular ring set the object into human context (primarily the production, consumption, life support triangle). The outermost circular ring included spiritual aspects in order to encompass the theme of being as tied up in human involvement with material goods. This tree-ring arrangement demands unity not division<sup>28</sup>.

Hundsbichler in the same publication<sup>29</sup>, demonstrated the development of the understanding of the word "Realien" across the years at Krems. Originally (with reference to D.H.W. Schwarz) they were likened to "Sachgüter", which "Encompasses all material objects, across the multitude of human needs and the endeavors of human occupation". The material components in this way spoke in opposition to spiritual requirements, but through them both, a total-culture was forged. Realienkunde has to be more broadly understood as „the examination of human ways of life, based upon material uses and forms“<sup>30</sup>. Living involves repetition, which leads to overall Well-Being and provides structure, conventions of communal life such as laws and family living. These are not self sufficient but they are shaped through factors of communication (passing on of knowledge, adoption and imitation, and normalisation).

Essentially, both Hundsbichler and Kislinger suggested that the elements of importance are the object and its qualities in relation to people and their human context<sup>31</sup>. Objects stand at the centre of material culture study, but they cannot function alone. The object is at once bound up with individual human inter-action and the need to sustain daily life, and with the creation of a 'living world' upon which institutional structures act and within which human 'mentalities' are formed. How and why were the objects used, and what were the qualities and values attached to those objects, were important questions to be asked. These were separate questions to those asking about the physical qualities of those objects (form, materials, colours etc.). The object-centred material culture of daily life belongs to the wider 'Lebenswelt' and it impacts upon the material and the non-material experiences involved in the business of living. Inter-disciplinary methods should be applied to the analysis of inter-disciplinary source materials, and archaeological records should be revisited for possible re-readings, in Hundsbichler's view. He also advocated the study of topics such as daily life and its life forms, the material basis of social and economic phenomena, and the significance of daily life for the creation of generic historical phenomena<sup>32</sup>. Hundsbichler recommended for the archaeologist, a firm grounding in historical method, and critical competence in handling sources, materials and research methods in general. He saw the need for creation of typologies and for an analysis of terminology found in written sources as daily life patterns often were communicated in a 'hidden form'. It was important to recognise the

<sup>26</sup> H. KÖPSTEIN, Realienkunde – materielle Kultur – Alltagsleben in Byzanz. Zu Termini und Forschungsgegenstand. *Medium Aevum Quotidianum. Newsletter* 9 (1987) 6–25.

<sup>27</sup> E. KISLINGER, Notizen zur Realienkunde aus byzantinistischer Sicht. *Medium Aevum Quotidianum, op. cit.* 26–33.

<sup>28</sup> Developed by H. HUNDSBICHLER, Perspektiven für die Archäologie des Mittelalters im Rahmen eine Alltagsgeschichte des Mittelalters in: *Methoden und Perspektiven der Archäologie des Mittelalters*, hrsg. von J. TAUBER. Liestal 1991, 85–99, esp. 91–3. Cf. G. JARITZ, Zwischen Augenblick und Ewigkeit. Einführung in die Alltagsgeschichte des Mittelalters. Wien – Köln 1989, 13–26.

<sup>29</sup> H. HUNDSBICHLER, Realienkunde zwischen 'Kulturgeschichte' und 'Geschichte des Alltags'. *Medium Aevum Quotidianum, op. cit.* 34–42.

<sup>30</sup> See previously H. HUNDSBICHLER, Wege zum Alltag des Mittelalters. Arbeitsweise und Forschungsziele des Instituts für mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs. *Medium Aevum Quotidianum. Newsletter* 1 (1982) 11–8.

<sup>31</sup> HUNDSBICHLER, Perspektiven 87 and 90; KISLINGER, Notizen 28–9.

<sup>32</sup> HUNDSBICHLER, Perspektiven 91–3.

unusual before any grasp of the ‘norm’ could occur. How ‘realistic’ a picture could be painted of daily life depended upon all these factors. The archaeologist and the art historian also needed to co-operate. In addition, it should be recognised that: spectacular finds did little to increase understanding of daily life; some objects would always remain a mystery and that conversely, other objects could be recognised as earlier forms of items still in daily use. The sense of continuity yielded in the latter case, lent a timeless dimension to the study of material culture, he concluded.

At the same period of time as these Austrian-German theories were being developed<sup>33</sup> amongst British Byzantinists Magdalino was suggesting that there was a “literary perception” of everyday existence in Byzantium<sup>34</sup>. He wrote about Apokaukos, the almost singular observer of and writer on daily life. This individual, Magdalino felt, in an exceptional manner managed to integrate popular and classical literary trends. A study of the work of this writer led Magdalino to propose that it would be useful to categorise Byzantine literary perception according to author and period. In this system it would be possible for example, to class seventh century hagiographers and twelfth century literati as excellent communicators of their own medieval world. Broader trends could also be categorised across periods. For instance, the twelfth century it could be said, was characterised by a closer treatment of human nature (physical and psychological). Magdalino suggested that the court entertainments and public celebrations set the tone for the greater communication of human experience, and that this perhaps opened the way for the inclusion of popular language within formal literary output.

In the discussions surrounding the study of western and of Byzantine material culture mainly qualitative methods of research were outlined, but it is important also to consider the value of quantitative analysis. In a paper of 1988 Jaritz, for example, illustrated how statistics could provide evidence towards the creation of an ‘over-all picture’ of certain every day situations. He used a structural history approach in combination with qualitative analysis to detect tendencies and patterns of consumption of food during periods of fasting and of non-fasting at Klosterneuburg, based on the evidence from registers of expenses of the monastery<sup>35</sup>.

In 1992, a Festschrift for Kühnel was published under the title of ‘Symbols of daily life and daily life as Symbol’<sup>36</sup>, but surprisingly, no further developments of Byzantine material culture theory were published.

Quite unrelated to and uninfluenced by the German/Austrian developments, in 1996, the McDonald Institute for archaeological research at Cambridge University, held a conference entitled, ‘Cognition and Material Culture: the Archaeology of Symbolic Storage’. (Proceedings edited by C. Renfrew, C. Scare. Oxford 1998). The inspiration for the conference came from a publication of 1991 by Merlin Donald, entitled, ‘Origins of the Modern Mind’. The conference was concerned with ‘the archaeology of external symbolic storage: the dialectic between artefact and cognition.’ The aim was to explore what it meant to ‘be human’ as revealed by the records of material culture. The conference emphasised analysis of material objects within pre-literate and non-literate societies and the use of non-literate symbols within literate societies. This moved the emphasis from the more usual concentration upon the uses of writing within literate societies. The symbols explored, (objects of material culture), either were functional in nature, (e.g. weights and measures) and allied to the assignment of status (e.g. price, quality), or they were symbolic adjuncts of domestic and non-domestic life.

The concept of symbolic storage operated across time and space and it was applicable to historical and to contemporary living. The impact of the symbolically charged object as catalyst for changes in human behaviour was a core theme of the conference. Social context and human communication, and the meaning and value embedded into the object as carrier of information were explored. The relationship between man and

<sup>33</sup> For a recent overview see H.-W. GOETZ, *Moderne Mediävistik. Stand und Perspektiven der Mittelalterforschung*. Darmstadt 1999, 299–318.

<sup>34</sup> P. MAGDALINO, *The Literary Perception of Everyday Life in Byzantium*. *BSI* 48 (1987) 28–38.

<sup>35</sup> G. JARITZ, *Quantitative Methoden in der Alltagsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, in: ‘Qualität und Quantität’. *Zur Praxis der Methoden der Historischen Sozialwissenschaft (Studien zur Historischen Sozialwissenschaft 10)*. Frankfurt – New York 1988, 85–108.

<sup>36</sup> *Symbole des Alltags. Alltag der Symbole*. Festschrift für Harry Kühnel zum 65. Geburtstag. Graz 1992.

object, (more broadly, between humans and material culture), was recognised as reflexive<sup>37</sup>. Symbolic meaning was acknowledged as socially situated, so that the emphasis of necessity fell upon the processes of interaction between humans and objects and upon the changing meanings that might be attached to these artefacts over time. Objects (artefacts) were seen as belonging to different categories of daily life so that their symbolism was ‘stored’ in different ways, some visual, others through ritual enactment. The conference concluded that material culture within social existence presents new cognitive opportunities, and these can affect how humans, (either individually or as a group) think of and represent ‘reality’<sup>38</sup>.

Lord Renfrew emphasised the active role of material culture: historically it was pro-active in forming social relations, but at the same time, it was reflective of those social relations and their cognitive categories<sup>39</sup>. Artefacts, linguistic terms and concepts were integrally related. Both artefacts and linguistic terms played a part in the creation of ‘institutional reality’, to which humans, alongside their physical reality, were subject. It was suggested that in human evolution cognitive development passed from a linguistic (mythic) culture, through a phase of symbolic storage culture, prior to the rise of theoretic culture, which relied upon systems such as writing<sup>40</sup>.

As a sociologist speaking at the Cambridge conference, Halle illustrated how very similar questions regarding the relation between material artefact, symbol and cognition, could be asked in both historical and in modern contexts<sup>41</sup>. He advocated ‘uncovering the symbolism of particular types of artefacts in particular types of social setting’. Halle defined ‘symbolism’ as ‘something which stands for or represents something else’<sup>42</sup>. Thus, a symbol needs to be assigned a meaning. Artefacts as symbols function beyond their physical attributes and both ‘locals’ and ‘non-locals’ attach meanings to them. This allows for different meanings to be attached to the same artefact<sup>43</sup>.

At the same conference Lake considered the relationship between ideas and material objects<sup>44</sup>. Evolutionary biology, anthropology, archaeology and philosophy were the important disciplines for exploring questions about how the content of culture changes and how culturally acquired ideas are transmitted from individual to individual. He was also concerned with the intervention of memory in the process of storage of culturally acquired ideas, and with the possibility of ‘transformation’ through processes of ‘cultural imitation’<sup>45</sup>. The system of symbolic structures inherent in material culture operated on a level more complex than that of simple replication. The stored ideas had to be decoded using a retrieval system. Before meaning could be acquired the stored ideas (symbolic structures) had to generate non-symbolic structures. Speaking in the context of material objects and the role they played in the promotion of cultural change, Lake made three points: objects carry cultural ideas, they stand for coded cultural ideas, they function both to store and to express those ideas<sup>46</sup>.

For replication to occur within this system, both the physical characteristics of the object and the symbolic coding system have to be transmitted across time. Lowe added to the debate in his paper, through the observation that ‘only a concept-user can regard an object as symbolic of another object’<sup>47</sup>. The storage systems under discussion entailed the existence of humans with the capacity for conceptual thought. Human artefacts with either a representative or a symbolic function or with both, involved the use of visual symbolism and external memory, he concluded.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. already HUNDSBICHLER, Perspektiven and JARITZ, Augenblick und Ewigkeit (as note 28), both unknown to the Cambridge conference contributors.

<sup>38</sup> ‘Reality’ as used here refers collectively to social, institutional, mental and physical reality.

<sup>39</sup> C. RENFREW, Mind and Matter: Cognitive Archaeology and External Symbolic Storage, in: Cognition and Material Culture 1–6.

<sup>40</sup> RENFREW, Mind and Matter 3.

<sup>41</sup> D. HALLE, Material Artefacts, Symbolism, Sociologists and Archaeologists, in: Cognition and Material Culture 51–60.

<sup>42</sup> HALLE, Material Artefacts 52.

<sup>43</sup> HALLE, *op. cit.* 51.

<sup>44</sup> M. LAKE, Digging for Memes: the Role of Material Objects in Cultural Evolution, in: Cognition and Material Culture 77–88.

<sup>45</sup> LAKE, Digging for Memes 80–2.

<sup>46</sup> LAKE, *op. cit.* 83–5.

<sup>47</sup> E. LOWE, Personal experience and belief: the significance of external symbolic storage for the emergence of modern human cognition, in: Cognition and Material Culture 89–96.

Another speaker at the Cambridge conference explored the role of material symbols in the transmission of religious ideas<sup>48</sup>. Mithen suggested that both material symbols and ritual enactment anchored the immaterial (the unworldly) in the mind. The early human mind needed to develop the capacity for cognitive fluidity, so that ideas could be transmitted, which were not reflected in the physical reality of the world. Religious ideas were inherently difficult to comprehend and they were re-enforced through ritual enactment, which also served to prevent dissipation and corruption of the ideas. Visual images too, helped to anchor abstract ideas in the mind. Strathern finally emphasised how far cultural artefacts could at once embody 'virtues and powers of a particular office', and in turn, 'bestow virtue and power on the person of the office holder'<sup>49</sup>. The transformed status of the office holder was then put on display to the world. Thus, it was suggested, that the artefact embodied extra-personal power. – These discussions outside the field of Byzantine studies provide interesting food for thought.

#### WIDENING THE HORIZON – EXAMPLES OF INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACHES

Byzantine Material Culture is only just beginning to be recognised as a self-standing area of Byzantine studies. Inter-disciplinary material culture studies outside the Byzantine field have long been recognised. For this reason Byzantinists need to refer to the publications across material culture studies outside their own specialisation. There are numerous publications of relevance only a sample of which might be mentioned here. Technology, science, economy and trade are important aspects of material culture and these aspects are covered in various ways by authors such as Langdon (mills); Constable (trade, lodging and travel); Jones (city state and popular power); Kaye (money in relation to scientific thought)<sup>50</sup>. These books combine a knowledge of technology with research approaches from political and social science and they use written, visual and material remains evidence. The subject of the city is linked to the themes of public display and spectacle. The city is also viewed in relation to occupational and consumer issues<sup>51</sup>. Gilchrist examines the place of religion within material culture<sup>52</sup>. Binski explores social, cultural and theological issues surrounding the rite of death in the Latin west<sup>53</sup>. All the cited books offer inter-disciplinary avenues into the greater understanding of material culture issues which are equally applicable to Byzantium and the west.

If Byzantine studies are to offer an equally vibrant series of publications on material culture issues, the time has come for a re-evaluation of training of future Byzantinists in this branch of study. A greater degree of inter-disciplinary research will be called for and training in technical as well as in written and visual source analysis will be essential. A combination of research approaches primarily drawn from the disciplines of history, art and design history, archaeology and anthropology, religious, philosophical and literary studies, has somehow to be encompassed<sup>54</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> S. MITHEN, The supernatural beings of Prehistory and the external storage of religious ideas, in: *Cognition and Material Culture* 97–106.

<sup>49</sup> M. STRATHERN, Social relations and the idea of externality, in: *Cognition and Material Culture* 135–47.

<sup>50</sup> J. LANGDON, *Mills in the Medieval Economy. England 1300–1540*. Oxford 2004; O. CONSTABLE, *Housing the stranger in the Mediterranean world*. Cambridge 2003; P. JONES, *The Italian City State*. Oxford 1997; J. KAYES, *Economy and Nature in the fourteenth century*. Cambridge 1998.

<sup>51</sup> *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. B. HANAWALT – K. RAYERSON. Minneapolis 1994; A. HUNT, *Governance of the consuming passions. A history of sumptuary law*. Basingstoke 1996; C. M. WOOLGAR, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England*. Manchester 1999; C. DYER, *Making a Living in the Middle Ages*. Guildford 2002.

<sup>52</sup> R. GILCHRIST, *Gender and Material Culture. The Archaeology of religious women*. London and New York 1997.

<sup>53</sup> P. BINSKI, *Medieval Death*. London 1996.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. recently *Les villages dans l'empire Byzantine (IV<sup>e</sup>–X<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, édité par J. LEFORT, C. MORRISSON – J.-P. SODINI (*Réalités Byzantines* 11). Paris 2005; L. LAVAN – W. BOWDEN (eds.), *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology (Late Antique Archaeology 1)*. Leiden – Boston 2003.



## OBJECTS (CULTURAL ARTEFACTS) – PHYSICAL AND SYMBOLIC IDENTITY

Some scholars see material culture as purely the study of materials, skills and functions; an approach that may be termed ‘material essentialism’. This approach is favoured in a situation where it is necessary first of all to draw together an inventory of the available evidence, whether object based, visual or written<sup>55</sup>. This approach, however, does not concern itself with the relationship of ‘materiality’ to ‘material expression’ an aspect that cannot be ignored by Byzantine scholars. Materiality is central to cultural production but cultural production involves creation of meaning and value, and these cannot be explored through material essentialism alone. It is clear that there are different levels at which the field of Byzantine material culture studies will need to operate.

Contemporary disciplines including social science, philosophy, psychology, archaeology, ‘Sachkultur’, and anthropology have been involved in an examination of ‘materiality’ not only in a physical capacity but also as it encompasses non-material domains. These disciplines have considered how, in the relationship between object and man, symbolic values become attached to objects. They have suggested that it is the non-material values attached to objects that create meaning and value in daily life, (taken here to mean as it is lived at all social levels). Thus, the object (cultural artefact) can serve to attract ‘cultural capital’, through the application of status functions to itself, which subsequently will enhance the identity of the user. In this system special cultural languages (object-based/visual and/written) are used to encode information and to store it in the cultural artefact. This stored information (either institutionally or informally generated), is transmitted through communication between people, and a sense of the ‘reality of daily life’ as it is lived in its broadest sense, is built up. This way of understanding the role of objects (cultural artefacts) in relation to the creation of social reality, I would suggest, is relevant to the development of Byzantine material culture studies. It is an approach, which crosses time and space and in hindsight it can be seen to work with Byzantine cultural artefacts such as textiles.

The ‘materiality’ of cultural artefacts’ provides a medium for the expression of political and of socio-economic power, both within and beyond institutions. It also acts as the medium of storage and for the embedding of memory as the basis of discourse and the formation of narratives around the artefact. Whilst the physical side of ‘materiality’ concerns itself with the study of a hierarchy of materials and of uses on a practical level, the symbolic side of the subject looks at the ideology behind the uses of the materials, and with the resultant status implications. The non-material aspect of study looks at the sign language (semiotics) of materials<sup>56</sup>. Here, the physical forms of cultural artefacts may be looked upon as ‘idea types’ with meaning anchored in their ‘materiality’. For the purposes of Byzantine Material Culture, one may discern two fields of related study along these lines:

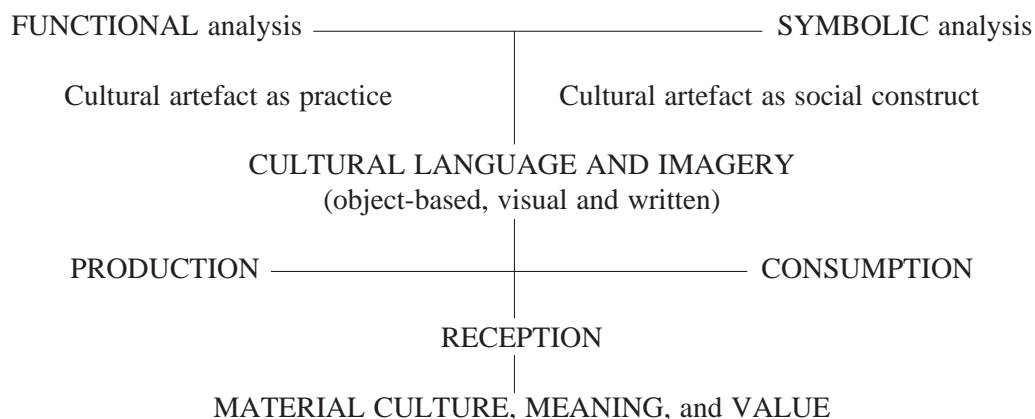
## MATERIALS, PRACTICE AND PRACTICAL FUNCTIONS CULTURAL IMAGERY AND LANGUAGE AND SYMBOLIC FUNCTIONS

The artefacts of material culture are viewed as capable of a physical and of a symbolic identity. Further, it is possible, to explore how the physical impinges upon the symbolic identity of objects, and vice-versa, how their symbolic identity impinges upon their materials based identity.

The cultural artefact in this system can be read as a monitor of inter-action and change and as a mirror of socially relevant topics and of socio-economic issues. It can also be viewed as a means to explore the formation and the display of identity, the creation of meaning, and the assignment of value in society. This can be expressed in a simplified diagram as shown below.

<sup>55</sup> See M. GRÜNBART – D. STATHAKOPOULOS, Sticks and Stones: Byzantine Material Culture. *BMGS* 26 (2002) 298–327, especially the definition on page 299 with footnote 5.

<sup>56</sup> Semiotics was developed as part of contemporary literary theory from where it passed into design theory. It is entailed with communication systems reliant on visual signs. For the many branches of semiotics consult P. BOUISSAC, *Encyclopaedia of Semiotics*. Oxford 1998.



### THE ROLE OF OBJECT ANALYSIS IN RELATION TO IMAGE AND TEXT CRITICISM

The earlier discussions touched upon the need to balance material, visual and written evidence within the study of material culture. All three types of systems acted to carry information, from which meaning could be sought. Value was given to meaning, in the contexts of products, and practices and categorisations of people, involved in the creation of that meaning. Material evidence in the tri-partite system outlined above, operates upon a physical and a symbolic level. Materials, processes and practices are important on a physical plane. On a symbolic level, the material object assumes non-physical characteristics and takes on symbolic meaning created in the light of institutional and informal influences. This process has been termed ‘taking on a status function’<sup>57</sup>.

The objects of material culture might be seen as both physical and as symbolic entities. A study of the objects of material culture might be viewed as the analysis of modes of existence of the entities, and an exploration of their role in creation of social reality. The processes of assigning conceptual as well as social status to the objects of material culture, is involved. It is also important in this system of analysis to examine the use of the objects to initiate, to maintain and/or to revive social institutions.

The assignment of ‘social function’ to the object might be formal (institutionally driven) or informal (consensus based). A formally assigned status function is allocated meaning using rules to which the object is subject<sup>58</sup>. An informally assigned status function has no written rules, but there may be involved, unwritten rules and here it will be necessary for people to embrace each others intention.

These two situations produce two types of reality: institutional reality and informal reality. In order for these ‘realities’ to exist, the object is subject to both social and to psychological conditioning. It is subject to mentalities grouped around the physical evidence of the object and to the evidence based on mental processes (consciousness, perception, intention, and communication).

This allows for transmission, understanding and acceptance of the information, which the object stores, to take place. Throughout these processes, the object is subject to the power structures and to the circumstances of its existence and operation, as its role both as material and social entity demands<sup>59</sup>. These ideas based on a reading of artefacts in their social context, can be expressed as a diagram as below.

<sup>57</sup> Materialism and the Mind Body Problem, ed. D. M. ROSENTHAL. Indianapolis 2000, looks at philosophical aspects of materialism. The book, John Searle’s ideas about social reality. Extensions, criticisms and reconstructions, ed. D. KOEPEL, L. S. MOSS. Oxford 2003, examines the work of Searle. He is concerned with the social framework underpinning the development of material culture in society and with the analysis of ‘status function’, ‘collective intentionality’ and ‘institutional and informal reality’.

<sup>58</sup> For example, see B. SMITH, J. SEARLE, The Construction of Social Reality. An exchange, in: John Searle’s ideas about social reality 258–309.

<sup>59</sup> These ideas are explored as follows: D. FITZPATRICK, Searle and collective intentionality, R. TUOMELA, Collective acceptance, social institutions and social reality, F. A. HINDRIKS, The new role of the constitutive rule, L. A. ZAIBERT, Collective intentions and collective intentionality, N. MISCEVIC, Explaining collective intentionality, all in: John Searle’s ideas about social reality, see 45–66, 123–65, 185–208, 209–32 and 257–67 respectively for these articles.

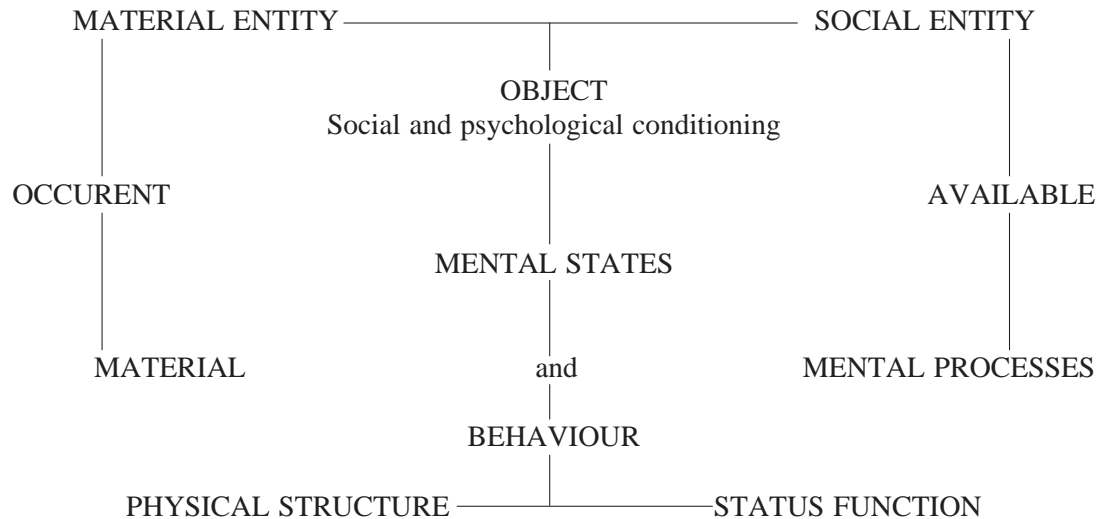


Diagram to show objects of material culture in social context  
(Power structures, circumstances of existence and operation)

The role of object analysis in relation to image and text criticism is crucial. The object analysis allows for the physical circumstances of the object to be fully appreciated. The object in its physical reality might act as a corrective to the visual or the written evidence of the object. Both visual and written evidence is subject to internal conventions of presentation and to idealisation, and to other potential pitfalls of qualitative analysis. Balanced research on Byzantine material culture involves first-hand recourse to surviving objects combined with the evidence of the visual and the written evidence external to the material remains.

#### THE IMPACT OF MUSEUMS: STORAGE; CONSERVATION; DISPLAY; EXHIBITION, AND INTERPRETATION ISSUES

The value of archaeological excavations is undoubted, but finances for full excavation of all possible sites of Byzantine material culture, will never become a reality. It is necessary, therefore, to explore museum collections and to carefully note major exhibitions, which bring together objects from many different locations. The era of grand Byzantine exhibitions has dawned.

Large exhibitions of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, have brought together vast numbers of Byzantine works of art<sup>60</sup>. Also, in Munich within a few years two Byzantine exhibitions took place<sup>61</sup>. The Greek ‘Daily Life in Byzantium’ exhibition of 2001–2002, also presented daily life objects<sup>62</sup>. Only scarcely, however, does an exhibition deal with both the physical and the symbolic identity of objects. In 2003, an exhibition of ceramics was held at the Byzantine Museum, Athens. This presented a chronology of techniques and of processes as linked to a study of social criteria, including changes in dietary habits and life-style<sup>63</sup>.

The exhibition catalogues are expensive to produce and they provide a perfect opportunity for the transmission of information important to material culture studies. It is to be hoped that these catalogues in future

<sup>60</sup> The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era A.D. 843–1261, ed. H. C. EVANS – W. D. WIXOM. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 11 March – 6 July 1997. New York 1997; Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261–1557), ed. M. C. EVANS. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 23 March – 4 July 2004. New York 2004.

<sup>61</sup> Rom und Byzanz. Archäologische Kostbarkeiten aus Bayern, ed. L. WAMSER – G. ZAHLHAAS. Munich 1998 and Die Welt von Byzanz – Europas östliches Erbe, ed. L. WAMSER. Munich 2004 (both including liturgical artefacts, pilgrim’s tokens, ceramics, bread stamps, weights, jewellery, belt buckles).

<sup>62</sup> Byzantine Hours. Works and Days in Byzantium. Daily Life in Byzantium, ed. D. PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZI. Thessaloniki, October 2001–January 2002. Thessalonica 2002.

<sup>63</sup> Byzantine Glazed Ceramics. The Art of Sgraffito, ed. D. PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZI. Byzantine and Early Christian Museum Athens, July–August 1999. Athens 1999. Compare the archaeological publication, J. VROOM, After Antiquity. Ceramics and society in the Aegean from the seventh to the twentieth century. A case study from Boeotia, Central Greece (*Archaeological Studies* 10). Leiden 2003.

will contain more data on materials, processes, uses, symbolic content and social impact, so that the role of the objects in creation of social realities, might be better appreciated. Cross-referencing in an inter-disciplinary manner between the contributors to the different sections of such catalogues, would also prove useful. The individual contributors to the catalogues, who have not been trained in the physical analysis and recording of artefacts of material culture, might usefully team up with conservation and other specialists, to bring the required information to publication. Increasingly, it will also be necessary to train future generations of Byzantine scholars in archaeological and in museum based object and technique analysis, if material culture studies are to progress.

A systematic bibliography within the Byzantine cultural material field is required. Categories of bibliographical references in the "Byzantinische Zeitschrift" over the last fifty years have changed and developed and the size of the bibliographical sections has vastly increased. However, there are the same entries under different headings and new headings such as 'material culture' in reality represent many separated headings as they occurred earlier. To search these valuable bibliographies is an immensely difficult and time-consuming task<sup>64</sup>.

The range of literature published across disciplines on aspects of Byzantine material culture is enormous. This point can be appreciated by considering the bibliographical range of the Byzantine daily life exhibition, mentioned above<sup>65</sup>. The cited bibliography is taken mainly from exhibition catalogues, archaeological excavation reports, social and economic history monographs, congress proceedings, and specialised periodical publications. The disciplines encompassed within the bibliography include: history in its broadest sense (materials and technology based, economic, social, political, legal, ecclesiastical, architectural and military); art history; archaeology; museum studies; numismatics; theology; literary studies and philology. Close co-operation between academic and museum sectors involved in the study of and in the conservation and the presentation of Byzantine material culture will be necessary.

#### THE STAGES OF PREPARATION TOWARDS A COMPREHENSIVE MATERIAL CULTURE METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The discussion so far suggests that 'Byzantine material culture' as a discipline demands the application of a well worked out inter-disciplinary method. In essence, this method embraces both physical and non-physical domains of research. To reveal the physical identity of the objects of material culture, materials and processes based object analysis is required. In the symbolic identity domain, a complex level of inter-disciplinary academic theoretical research is called for. This paper has presented a brief impression of key material culture themes, which have earlier attracted the attention of scholars from a wide body of disciplines. How far all these disciplines might be regarded in their broadest sense as part of historical studies, is open to debate.

The discussion certainly has highlighted the need for the integration of material essentialism with theoretical analysis. The question is, how and where should this training be provided? The study of physical characteristics of objects has been usual in archaeology and in museum studies, but techniques and processes outside painting, (for example, in textile production) have not formed part of academic art historical or historical training of the past. Increasingly archaeology has involved itself with approaches from other disciplines. For the purposes of Byzantine material culture studies, an amalgamation of approaches as outlined above, would prove useful. This would demand fresh methods of training for Byzantine scholars, and for integration of research method training across disciplines.

Already visual and written evidence has played an important part in Byzantine studies, but so far few Byzantine scholars have been trained in materials, techniques and technologies analysis. This area of study

<sup>64</sup> The Byzantinische Zeitschrift bibliographies offer an astounding range of titles, but these are difficult to scan in a time efficient manner in their printed form. A re-ordered electronic version of these bibliographies would provide a most useful tool for research. – In 2004 Michael Grünbart / Vienna started an online bibliography on this subject, which is accessible at <http://www.univie.ac.at/byzantine>. This "Bibliography on Byzantine Material Culture and Daily Life" comprises publications concerning various aspects of "Alltagsleben" covering the period from about 300 until 1500. Each entry includes a classification and a short description of the contents.

<sup>65</sup> See note 62 above.

needs to be encompassed so that analysis from objects of material culture can be integrated into the system. The scholar of Byzantine material culture needs to be competent in the handling of material remains, visual and written source evidence and to be familiar with approaches across a wide range of disciplines. The training in object analysis is distinct from that of training in visual or in written source evidence.

### *i. Materials based object analysis*

Handling of objects has become more rare today for students, than it was in the past, (with the advent of greater numbers of students, with stricter conservation regulations in operation and with availability of facsimiles and simulation technology packages). Some museums have bridged the gap by having small groups of students of material culture observe the analysis of objects by specialist teachers<sup>66</sup>. This training is essential for those students who later wish to make first hand analysis of unpublished objects part of doctoral research. First hand access to and handling of the objects of material culture, either through museum sessions or as part of archaeological fieldwork is essential in the training of Byzantine material culture specialists.

Special archive and catalogue record techniques must be taught to the students, to store relevant data in a standard format<sup>67</sup>. The detail of record making of physical characteristics of the objects of material culture is not yet standard across different areas of study. Some fields, such as pigment analysis, although sophisticated, suffer from an absence of sufficient samples offered for analysis. The impact of selective analysis should be borne in mind. The empirical analysis should provide the basis for understanding of literary terms as they reflect for example, textile technique, fabric tailoring, and dye technology.

The technical languages reflected in written sources cannot be analysed as part of literary culture, and the methods of written source based scholars are insufficient and inappropriate for analysis of these physical languages of Byzantine material culture. First hand analysis of material remains is essential as is the application of scientific methods of analysis to these remains. Manufacture of objects of material culture depended upon many factors: raw materials; established processes and skilled labour; financial backing, and a viable marketing and distribution network. The exact composition of materials yields valuable information about date, provenance, workshop practices etc. An analysis of techniques and of processes involved in making objects of material culture can reveal much. This includes information about the degree of skill required, the costs of production, and the capital outlay entailed<sup>68</sup>. Single literary references to a certain type of item of material culture, can neither count as evidence that manufacture of that item was local, nor that it was widespread or usual. Analysis of the material remains of the same item in its archaeological or museum context can yield far more information. Written records cannot take precedence over the evidence of the material remains and broad conclusions from written sources without reference to the evidence of surviving materials, should no longer be made<sup>69</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> Amongst the centres in London where student seminars are held in museums, are: the British Museum, the Museum of London, The Victoria and Albert Museum and the Museum of Mankind. Special facilities also exist to accommodate student visits to exhibitions.

<sup>67</sup> E.g. the Centre International d'Études des Textiles Anciens Vocabularies of Technical terms, published by the Museum of Historic Textiles, Lyons from 1964 onwards, are used by more than five hundred keepers of textiles in museums across the world. Communication of technical information across different languages is possible using these vocabularies.

<sup>68</sup> An understanding of weaving and dyeing processes and of loom technology is essential in the study of Byzantine silks as material culture. The work of conservators is also relevant. See A. TIMAR-BALAZSY – D. EASTOP, *Chemical principles of Textile Conservation*. Oxford 1998. This provides a detailed discussion of precise techniques used in conservation, which reflect upon workshop practices.

<sup>69</sup> Only technically trained specialists able to refer to the material remains as well as to the written evidence, are equipped to assign provenance to textiles. For the correct approach see for example, D. KING, *Silk weaves of Lucca in 1376*, in: *Collected Textile Studies of Donald King*, ed. A. MUTHESIUS – M. KING. London 2004, 93–110. Economic historians working only with scant documentary evidence, for example with the term damask, and suggesting that all damask comes from Damascus, are ill advised. For the technical correction of such generalised approaches, for instance see M. SONDAY, *Damask: Definition and Technique*. *Riggisberger Berichte* 7 (1999) 113–30.



*ii. Integration of technical with other academic methods of analysis*

First hand experience of techniques, technologies and processes of making, together with scientific analysis of materials (e.g. metals, dyes, pigments, fibres, glazes, ceramic and stone types etc.) provides a sound basis for the further analysis of objects of material culture, through theoretical research. The types of interdisciplinary theoretical research approaches that are relevant, have been briefly discussed above. Further interesting avenues of research are also possible, with reference to contemporary design theory, material culture studies<sup>70</sup>.

The Journal of Design History special issue 17 (Nr. 3 / 2004) entitled, 'Dangerous Liaisons: relationships between design, craft and art', places emphasis on the study of 'materiality' within contemporary society. The issue is concerned with the role of the object in structuring social experience. The approaches are close to those of the McDonald Institute of archaeology and there are areas that have formed part of the earlier theoretical discussions as outlined above. The design theorists, archaeologists, social scientists, anthropologists and medieval material culture specialists, are all concerned with the cultural language and the imagery surrounding objects, and with the material, functional and emotional responses evoked by objects within the context of human existence.

The contemporary design theorist separates the object itself, from the discourse on the elements, which impinge on the creation of the object, and this is parallel to the medieval material culture approach described above. Both historical and contemporary material culture studies also ask, 'How far is the object conceived, made and used within the boundaries of consistent rules and principles?' In historical as well as recent times, there can be little doubt that institutional forces have played a part in shaping objects of material culture. It could be argued that criticism and discourse today is broader, more accessible through the actions of the modern media, and more influential in shaping and forming objects of material culture.

The force of popular feeling in medieval times, was most certainly felt; not least through public demonstration such as riots. It was felt also through the powers invested in bodies such as the trade guilds. These 'informal institutions' could also have played a part in shaping material culture<sup>71</sup>. Elements such as repetition of design as bound to the familiar and the acceptable, which historically might be termed 'tradition' and today 'nostalgia' provide a sense of continuity across material culture mentalities. Across human existence, it could be stressed, that repetition as an appeal to memory, provokes emotional response, a sense of stability and a feeling of Well-Being.

Parallels between historical and contemporary material culture studies might be listed under a series of initial points:

- The objects of material culture are at once both practical and symbolic agents.
- Under practical belong questions of physical 'materiality'; materials, processes, practices and practical uses. Under symbolic is understood the object as assigned a category in the light of institutional discourse.
- Objects of material culture have a symbolic identity. This relies upon the status value they have been assigned through institutional or informal discourse (i.e. through application of rules and regulations or by way of informal consensus amongst people).

<sup>70</sup> There is a sense of timelessness in the study of material culture, where the same issues occur across time and space. The approaches of folklore narrative research thus may remain useful for those engaged in historical material culture studies. A first approach in the field of Byzantine studies offers P. SCHREINER, *Stadt und Gesetz – Dorf und Brauch. Versuch einer historischen Volkskunde von Byzanz: Methoden, Quellen, Gegenstände, Beispiele (Nachrichten Akad. Wiss. zu Göttingen, philolog.-hist. Kl. 9 / 2001)*. Göttingen 2001.

<sup>71</sup> On the social, economic and political power of the Byzantine trade guilds, for example, see S. VRYONIS, *Byzantine ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ and the Guilds in the eleventh century. DOP 17 (1961) 289–314* (Reprint in IDEM, *Byzantium: its internal history and relations with the Muslim World*. London 1971, III); P. SCHREINER, *Die Organisation byzantinischer Kaufleute und Handwerker*, in: *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa*, VI: *Organisationsformen der Kaufmannsvereinigungen in der Spätantike und im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. H. JANKUHN – E. EBEL (*Abhandlungen Akad. Wiss. in Göttingen, philolog.-hist. Kl. III 183*). Göttingen 1989, 44–61. In general on aspects of trade cf. *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, I–III (*DOS XXXIX*), ed. A. E. LAIOU. Washington, D.C. 2002.

- To take on the role of symbol as against a purely physical entity, the symbolic information has first to be stored in the object and then it has to be communicated. This involves the operation of a cultural language (written or visual) through use of which the symbolic information can be retrieved.
- Repetition of information held in storage, memory and retrieval systems involve other agents, (e.g. the creation of narratives for the transmission of the information).
- Repetition involves not only retrieval but also ongoing discourse, whether institutionally or informally driven.
- Objects within material culture, serve to provide meaning and value to daily life activities at all levels of society. They engage mentalities and they help to shape social reality.

The concept of assigning ‘value’ to daily life covers the operation of ideology, laws, religious beliefs and so on, which provide both legal and spiritual cover. It also refers to the ability of people outside institutional constraint to embrace each other’s intentions, or of groups of people to act under a collective intention.

Objects within material culture have a physical and a social existence. They not only provide physical support for human existence, but they also enable meaning and value to be expressed. These meanings and values are expressed over periods of time and they reflect cultural change and cultural inter-action. This system can be illustrated in the form of a simplified diagram as set out below.

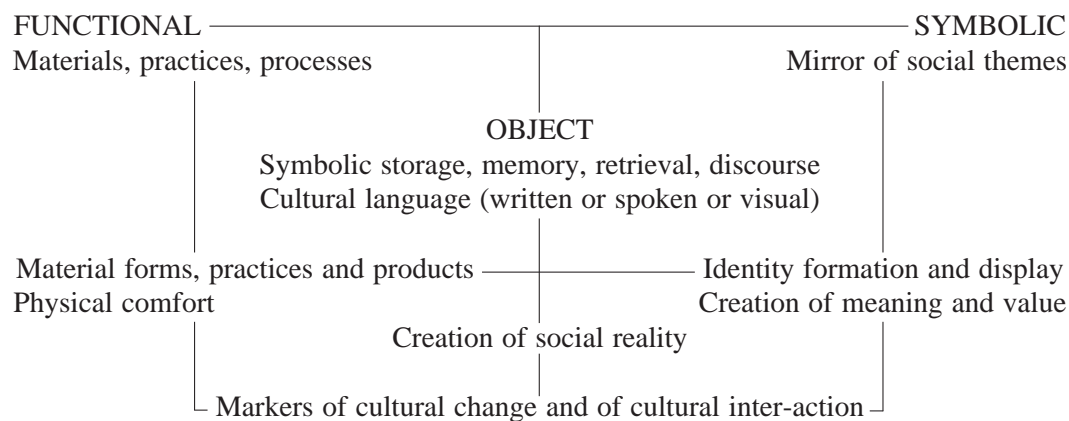


Diagram to demonstrate the role of objects in material culture

Contemporary theoretical debate in the philosophy of the social sciences has also been occupied with the concept of the dual role of objects in society. Rosenthal in 2000 and Searle in 2003, stressed the importance of objects in relation to mental states<sup>72</sup>. They debated questions about the behaviour related by humans to objects, and the sensory stimulation generated in the presence of objects as manifestations of mental states. They were concerned also, with the imagination and memory invested into physical objects by humans. Searle suggested that objects should be considered under distinct headings in the context of their role as agents of the construction of social reality. His analysis suggested a bi-partite division as follows:

#### *Physical*

- Objects as physical entities
- Objects as functional agents
- Objects as they operate under cognitive states or acts
- The circumstance under which these states or acts are able to operate

<sup>72</sup> Consult ROSENTHAL, Materialism (as note 56) 1–17, especially 15–7, and J. SEARLE, From speech acts to social reality, in: John Searle, ed. B. SMITH. Cambridge 2003, 1–33.

*Social*

Objects in the realm of social acts

The effect of 'collective intentionality'<sup>73</sup> in respect of social objects as constituted by social act

Objects as institutional realities (in the context of the expression of rights, duties and obligations)

The relationship of object as social entity to power structures surrounding the object

In this analysis a context is required in which the object is assigned a status function, but once this is created, the object can exist in a way that is context free.

Tuomela in relation to Searle's theories, explored the philosophy of social practices and the question of the establishment of social norms in relation to social functions as assigned to objects<sup>74</sup>. He defined a social norm as that which implied the object should be treated in a certain way. The social norm could be institutionally or non-institutionally led. Where the agreement of people rather than the imposition of written rules and regulations operates, there is a 'for groupness', involving joint decision or collective agreement to allow roles, actions and states to exist. The 'for groupness' represents intentional, voluntary, common consensus, according to Tuomela<sup>75</sup>. This involves agreement, consensus, acceptance of belief, and some reflection of social expectations. This type of normative practice can be considered a social institution when it becomes 'we believed'. Objective, collective commitment in the sense Tuomela presented, in public space, can act as a social norm.

In the context of medieval material culture studies these ideas provide food for thought. One might argue for example, that in Byzantium silk (precious cloth) was assigned status functions and initially that these were institutionally led and governed by rules and regulations. Silk served initially as an institutional reality. Through 'collective acceptance', silk later came to operate outside institutions, as non-institutional reality<sup>76</sup>, and came to have meaning and value outside institutions. One may argue that it moved from 'institutional reality' to 'social norm', once it came to express 'power', status etc.' as a context free entity.

This type of theoretical discourse would further call for exploration of how far 'collective acceptance' as against 'imposed institutional regulation' might have acted to initiate, to maintain or to revive social norms. This would involve an analysis of the operation of public social space and the workings of the objects of material culture within that space.

*iii. The stages beyond the recording of objects*

With the emergence of complex inter-disciplinary research on material culture, there is a growing need for bibliographies to align themselves with theoretical discourse, so that categories of study and their attendant theoretical discourse together might be more easily accessed. Where different disciplines rather than inter-disciplinary research are involved, it would be good to set out bibliographies around common themes across disciplines. To gather together titles of widely varying approach, theme, and depth of study, is not the most useful way forward. For instance, it would be very useful to have a separate bibliography of material culture in which all the physical characteristics and scientific analysis of surviving materials have appeared.

Databases of Byzantine material culture might be usefully organised as records of the physical as well as the symbolic identity of the objects in question. It would be useful to combine the evidence of the material remains, the visual and the written source evidence on a single site. The real difficulties encountered in the recognition of names and terms assigned to items of material culture, might be alleviated by cross-reference between the evidence of the different sources. In particular technique and technology recorded under material remains source evidence might prove useful for introducing the notion of the existence of technical and of brand names in Byzantium.

The listing of objects from whatever type of source evidence is only a first stage. It is then necessary to pass from the physical 'materiality' to the symbolic identity field. For this purpose the theoretical debate

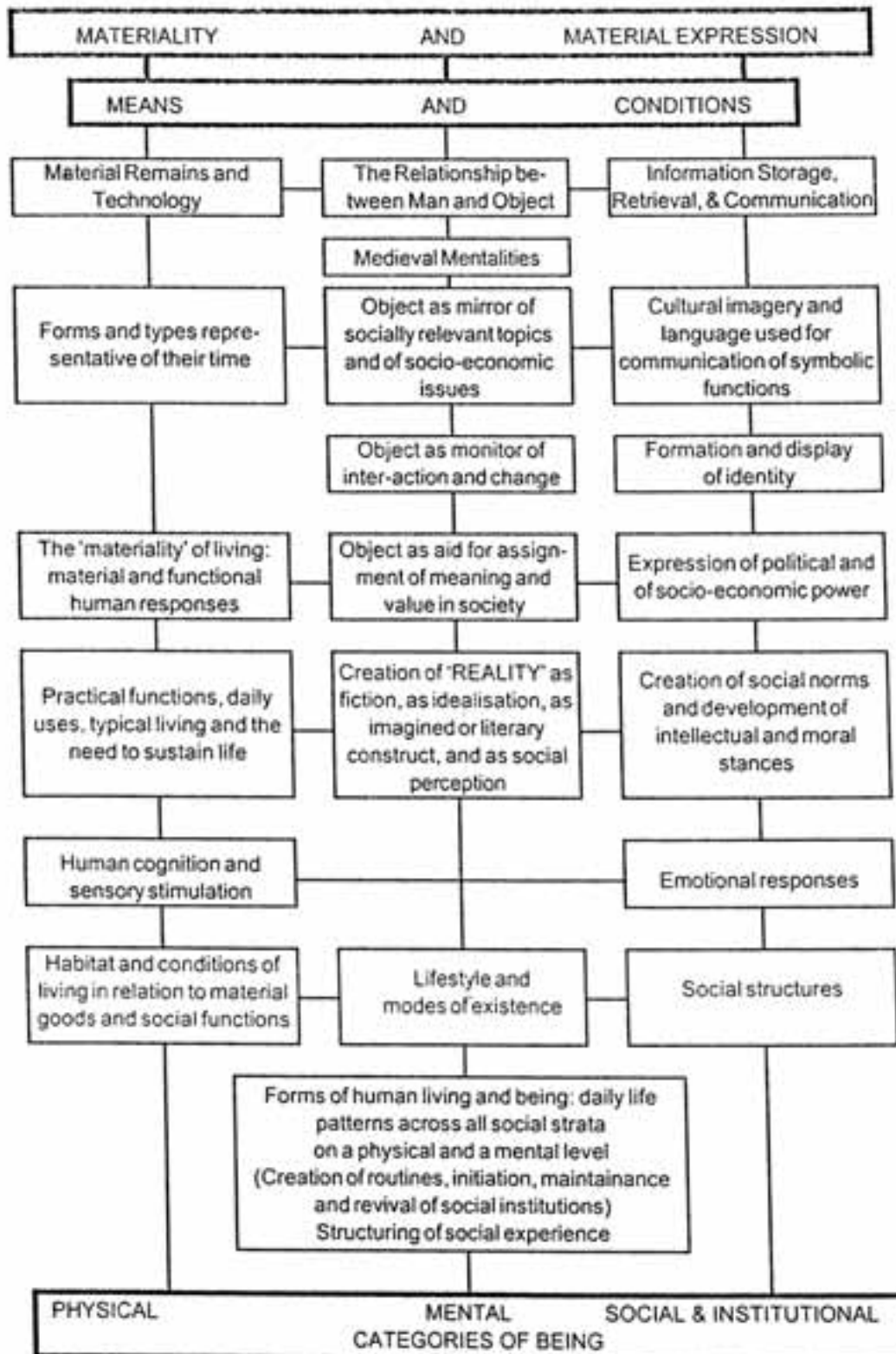
<sup>73</sup> TUOMELA, *Collective acceptance* (as note 59) 123–65.

<sup>74</sup> TUOMELA, *op. cit.* 123ff., 137ff.

<sup>75</sup> *Op. cit.* 131, 141–48.

<sup>76</sup> As demonstrated in relation to the operation of the private silk guilds across broader markets from the tenth to the eleventh centuries onwards.





## MATERIAL CULTURE: KEY ISSUES

centred on how objects function in society, might prove most helpful. Concepts such as institutional action, collective intention, symbolic storage, memory and retrieval systems and so on, outlined above, provide an angle from which sources might be newly approached. New readings or re-readings of the written evidence in particular, might be made. The closer analysis of visual images in relation to the newly analysed written sources might also follow. Of central concern, however, must be the full understanding of the properties and processes behind the creation of the objects of material culture, themselves, whether newly excavated or freshly discovered in museums, monastic treasuries or private collections.

In the course of this paper I have tried to discuss important themes of study. A key-issues chart set out on p. 37 provides my concluding visual map of the possible future direction of Byzantine Material Culture studies. This visual map sets out to record the main themes for study under three headings: physical; mental; social and institutional. The map sets out the areas for study relevant to the exploration of the relationship of materiality to material expression. The map proposes a route for the analysis of the relationship between object and human as an element of 'Byzantine being' as set within specific Byzantine social and institutional parameters.

The map is to be read both vertically and horizontally. It highlights *physical* (left vertical column), *mental* (central vertical column), and *social and institutional* (right vertical column) themes. These are not mutually exclusive. The *physical* concerns are centred upon an analysis of material remains, physical properties and the application of technologies in the uses of raw materials. The physical concerns encompass creation of types useful for sustaining life and the human reactions to the practicalities of living. The *mental* concerns relate directly to issues of the creation of lifestyles, and the evolution of 'realities' across different Byzantine social strata. The *social and institutional* issues relate to the methods used towards the creation of meaning and value. These include issues of identity and social hierarchy, power and communication of intellectual, moral and emotional response. When read horizontally at various levels across all three columns (*physical, mental, social and institutional*) the map acts to emphasise the relationship between material essentialism and human cognition and response in social and in institutional context.

The research approach necessary for exploration of Byzantine Material Culture is inter-disciplinary. Both scientific methods (e.g. material science based and technological analysis of physical properties and structures of objects, social, anthropological and psychological science centred analysis) and non-scientific methods (e.g. historical, art historical, archaeological, literary, philosophical analysis etc.) are required. Material remains, visual and documentary evidence available within the field of Byzantine Material Culture must be finely balanced before conclusions are reached. It is not sufficient to rely only on literary evidence, as many Byzantine scholars have tended to do in the past.

It will also be dangerous for those untrained in one or more methods of analysis to publish results based upon only one type of evidence, without proper recourse to their fellow specialists working with the other types of evidence. This complex research field will demand close co-operation between individual specialists where it is impossible for single scholars to cross all the boundaries involved in their subject. Equally important will be the training of individual scholars as specialists within narrow fields so that they might have time to increasingly work across disciplines based upon a single medium. This has happened in certain branches of Byzantine object studies (e.g. textile studies, which in a sense has pioneered the approach of linking material essentialism and material expression studies, and it is increasingly becoming evident in other branches such as, pottery studies, architecture and town planning and so on)<sup>77</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> It is beyond the scope of this study to outline the history of these developments across the fields mentioned. The present author presents an analysis of the workings of the research method outlined above as applied to her own Byzantine textile studies over the last thirty years. See, *Byzantine Material Culture; theory and method*, with a section on *Studies in Material Culture; the case of Byzantine Silks*, in: A.MUTHESIUS, *Studies in Byzantine, Islamic and Near Eastern Silk Weaving*. London 2007, chapter XV.

## CONFERENCE PAPERS



ARCHBISHOP DAMIANOS OF SINAI

## The Medical Saints of the Orthodox Church in Byzantine Art

(with plates 1–6)

As is known, the Church celebrates the memory of a multitude of Saints who are esteemed as champions of the Faith and as the friends of Christ. While yet on this earth they were raised to high spiritual attainments by the grace of God, and had reached the pinnacle of perfection, even as we are commanded in the Sacred Scriptures. This was due to their humility, their love of God, and their great spiritual exertions, aided by the abundant mercies of God. Among the many Saints, the faithful have come to distinguish differences according to some characteristic quality of grace that each Saint had while living in this life, and after his passing from this life.

In general, Christianity has received the Saints as the friends of God and as intercessors to Him in times of various needs. This exists to this day in the Orthodox Church. We insist on this detail, because often, outside the Church and Orthodox tradition, the relation between the faithful and the Saints is misunderstood or even blamed, in favour of what is mistakenly believed to be a more spiritual religion. Nevertheless, the Holy Church always remembers the words of the Lord for the one who truly and fervently believes in Him, for His genuine friend and Saint: “the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do” (John 14:12). The Church honours the Saints greatly, but always in a manner that remains centred on Christ: that is why the pinnacle of a Saints festive commemoration is nothing less than the celebration of the divine liturgy of the body and the blood of the Saviour.

This article will concern itself with the healing arts and medical topics, and we shall briefly review those Saints who received a special grace to heal men, and animals as well, due to their compassion extended to all of creation. These Saints share certain characteristics. The Saints who are revered as healing Saints, in general studied the medical arts of their own age, and granted healings both with medicines and with the grace of the Holy Spirit. Some of the Saints in this category did not study medicine, but they were granted the grace to effect cures, and the faithful have come to reverence them together as wonderworking healers. Yet others studied medicine, but were not able to bring this into practice in that their lives were cut short by martyrdom, as was the case with Saint Catherine. Yet others have been included in this category because of the miracles of healing for which they became renowned after their deaths, wrought at their tombs and at the veneration of their sacred relics by the faithful. And yet another group are known for their healing of animals. All of these share one common characteristic, and that is the grace given to each to bring about healings. They are referred to as “Unmercenary Physicians” (*Anargyroi*) in that they never exacted payment for their cures. They are commemorated as a special category of Saints liturgically. At the preparation of the holy gifts, the priest places on the paten commemorations for each category of Saints: these include the Holy Angels, the Prophets, Apostles, Hierarchs, Martyrs, Righteous, and the Unmercenary Healers.

### THE HOLY EVANGELIST LUKE

Examining these in chronological order, we begin with the holy apostle and Evangelist Luke<sup>1</sup>, who was both a physician and a painter. Born in Antioch, he was the companion of Saint Paul on his missionary journeys, who refers to him as a physician in his epistles. Together with the Apostle Paul, and alone, he travelled to many places, especially in Greece, and preached the Gospel. He passed away in old age, in the city of Thebes (in central Greece), having lived some eighty years. After his death, God glorified His servant the

<sup>1</sup> For his commemoration on 18 October, see *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. H. DÉLÉHAYE (= SynEC). Brussels 1902, 147–48.

Apostle and Evangelist Luke. On his feastday, water would flow from his tomb which was celebrated for its cure of illnesses of the eyes and other diseases.

Historically we should mention that when Saint Constantine the Great built the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople (which afterwards served as a mausoleum for him and the Byzantine emperors), the holy relics of Saint Luke were enshrined there, together with the relics of the Apostles Andrew and Timothy, as a great treasure of the City<sup>2</sup>.

Saint Luke has been honoured, and almost exclusively depicted, as an Evangelist, his main service to the Church being the composition of his Holy Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles<sup>3</sup>. But in some rare cases his characteristic as Healer is also depicted, as in a fresco in the Catacomb of Comodilla in Rome<sup>4</sup>, dated 668–685 (pl. 1, fig. 1). In this example, he is depicted holding a small bag (*sakkidion*) in his left hand, a typical iconographic detail for medical doctors according to ancient iconography. In this example both characteristics of Saint Luke, as Evangelist and physician, are successfully combined.

### SAINTS COSMAS AND DAMIAN

The Saints who are known above all as “Healers and Unmercenaries” in Orthodox tradition, who are referred to simply as “The Holy Unmercenaries” without further need to include their names, are Saints Cosmas and Damian<sup>5</sup>. There are three pairs of brothers having the names Cosmas and Damian, who are celebrated as Unmercenaries in the preeminent sense. The foremost were brothers from Asia Minor<sup>6</sup> who lived in the third century, sons of a faithful and wealthy woman named Theodota, who was a Christian from her childhood. After the death of their father, she instilled in her children a profound Christian piety and virtue, and provided them with an excellent education, especially in the healing arts. Following this, they devoted themselves to acts of charity, healing both souls and bodies in the name of Christ. They healed the sick and infirm, and gave all their goods to the poor. After their death, their relics became a great source of healings for all who revered them, calling upon the Saints with faith and humility. Their memory is celebrated in the Orthodox Church on November 1, together with the memory of their mother Theodota.

The second pair of brothers of the same name were from Rome, and were martyred in 284. They were also educated as physicians. Their memory is celebrated on July 1<sup>7</sup>. The third pair were from Arabia, together with three other brothers, by name Entropios, Anthimos, and Leontios. They passed through every town and countryside, healing the sick and preaching the Name of Christ. For this reason, during the time of Diocletian and Maximian, they were brought before the ruler of the town of Lycia. They were cast into the sea with stone weights attached to them, but were miraculously preserved, after which they were beheaded. Their memory is kept on October 17<sup>8</sup>.

Because of the similarities of their lives, and the correspondence of their names, some scholars have doubted that they were actually separate Saints, but this is an ancient tradition in the calendar of the Orthodox Church. One confirmation of this tradition are the separate centres for the veneration of each of these Saints dating from very early times, such as the shrine in Cyros (in Asia Minor), where one pair of brothers of that name were buried. In Constantinople there was a large shrine dedicated to them dating from the fifth Century, known after the name of Saint Cosmas as the *Cosmedion*<sup>9</sup>. Also, in Rome an oratory was built in their

<sup>2</sup> R. JANIN, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l' Empire byzantin. Première partie: Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Oecuménique*, tome III: Les églises et les monastères. Paris <sup>2</sup>1969, 41–50.

<sup>3</sup> For his iconography, see *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (= *LCI*) VII 448–64.

<sup>4</sup> J. BECKWITH, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*. London <sup>2</sup>1979, ill. 132.

<sup>5</sup> On their hagiography, see A. J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Sainte Thècle, Saints Côme et Damien, Saints Cyr et Jean, Saint George*. Paris 1971, 83–213; K. HEINEMANN, *Die Ärzteheiligen Kosmas und Damian. Ihre Wunderheilungen im Lichte alter und neuer Medizin*. *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 9 (1974) 255–317; A. WITTMANN, *Kosmas und Damian, Kulturausbereitung und Volksdevotion*. Berlin–Bielefeld–München 1980; H. DÉLÉHAYE, *Les recueils antiques de Miracles des Saints*. *AnBoll* 43 (1925) 8–18; also *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* IV, 223–5; *LThK* VI 566–7; *RAC* III 1135–6; *RbK* II 1078–80.

<sup>6</sup> For their commemoration, see SynEC 185–6.

<sup>7</sup> For their commemoration, see SynEC 791.

<sup>8</sup> For their commemoration, see SynEC 144–6.

<sup>9</sup> JANIN, *op. cit.* 296–300.



honour during the time of Pope Symmachus 498–514; later, under Pope Felix (526–530), a basilica was erected in their honour, containing a splendid mosaic portraying the Saints, dating from the same time<sup>10</sup>.

In Greece, ancient Asclepia (in Athens, Epidauros, and other places) were transformed into centres in honour of these Saints<sup>11</sup>. Also, importantly, in the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Sinai, at the ancient city of Pharan, an early Christian church in their honour has been excavated, identified by an inscription unearthed there. The archaeological remains indicate that it served as a hospice, where monks and pilgrims who became ill could receive care<sup>12</sup>.

The presence of Saints Cosmas and Damian in art is as ancient as their cult<sup>13</sup>. Their oldest surviving portrayal is to be found in the Church of Saint George in Thessalonica (the “Rotunda”),<sup>14</sup> and is dated a little before the year 400 (pl. 1, fig. 2). The Saints are portrayed in full stature, each one designated with the inscription *iatros* (“physician”). Another example should be mentioned, that in the Church of the Virgin “Drosiané” on the island of Naxos (in the Cyclades of Greece), dating from the first half of the seventh century; an excellent and rare example of pre-iconoclastic art in the East<sup>15</sup> (pl. 1, fig. 3).

In the iconography of the three pairs of Saints Cosmas and Damian, generally there does not exist sufficient distinction to determine exactly which pair are portrayed in these examples. This is much easier in those cases where Saint Theodota is also depicted, which would clearly distinguish them as the pair from Asia Minor. This is the case in the frescoes of the Church of Christ Pantocrator on the island of Zakynthos (in western Greece), dating from the twelfth century<sup>16</sup> (pl. 1, fig. 4). The same iconographical scheme is to be found in the frescoes from the Church of Episkopè of Eurytania (now in the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens), dating from the thirteenth Century<sup>17</sup> (pl. 2, fig. 1). In these examples, their characteristic iconography emerges with greater clarity. They are wearing the *chiton* and *chlamys*. In their right hand they hold a cross, a sign of their martyrdom, or a medical spoon or medical knife<sup>18</sup>, and in their left hand, a small box of medicines. In the cases mentioned above, and in older examples in general, there is to be seen a small band of cloth something like a deacon’s *orarion*, with both ends visible on the front of the body (the ancient type of the priest’s *epitrachelion*). This was the emblem of doctors during the classical and late Roman periods, a detail that was retained in the iconography of the Holy Unmercenaries.

In general, there is a tendency to depict the Saints from Asia Minor without beards, though this is not always the case. Only in later Byzantine iconography, at the time of the Palaeologues, are the Saints from Arabia sometimes distinguished by wearing Arab turbans (as is the case with icons of Saint John Damascene).

With the passage of time, the cult of the Saints became more widespread, and it is not unusual that they are depicted, among other healing Saints, in the Byzantine enamels of the Pala d’Oro (eleventh century)<sup>19</sup>. Also, some of the churches that figure most prominently in the history of Byzantine art are dedicated to them, as is the case with the church in Kastoria (dating from the end of the twelfth century), where the patron Saints are depicted on the south-eastern pillar of the basilica, both being crowned by Christ Himself<sup>20</sup>. From the

<sup>10</sup> BECKWITH, *op. cit.* 125–6, ill. 103; R. BUDRIESI, *La basilica dei Ss. Cosma e Damiano a Roma*. Bologna 1968; G. MATTHIAE, *S. Cosma e Damiano e S. Teodora – Mosaici medioevali di Roma*. Roma 1948.

<sup>11</sup> For the Athen’s Asclepeion, see L. TRAULOS, in *ThEE* I 722–6.

<sup>12</sup> P. GROSSMANN, *Die antike Stadt Pharan. Ein archäologischer Führer*. Kairo 2002, 66–74; IDEM – M. JONES – Y. MEIMARIS, *Report on the season in Firan – Sinai* (February–March 1995). *BZ* 91 (1998) 346–8, 355–8.

<sup>13</sup> For their iconography, see R. SKROBUCHA, *Kosmas and Damian*. Recklinghausen 1965; M. L. DAVID-DANEL, *Iconographie des saints médecins Côme et Damien*. Lille 1958; C. H. WENDT, *Die Heiligen Ärzte in der Ostkirchenkunst*. *Centaureus* 1 (1950/51) 132–9; also *LCI* VII 343–52.

<sup>14</sup> E. KOURKOUTIDOU-NIKOLAIDOU, *Η Ροτόντα. Η Θεσσαλονίκη και τα μνημεία της*. Thessalonica 1985, 34–43 and ill. on 36; W. E. KLEINBAUER, *The Iconography and the Date of the Mosaics of the Rotonda of Hagios Georgios, Thessaloniki*. *Viator* 3 (1972) 27–107.

<sup>15</sup> N. DRANDAKES, *Οι παλαιοχριστιανικές τοιχογραφίες στη Δροσιανή της Νάξου*. Athens 1998, 74–5 and tab. IX a–b.

<sup>16</sup> *Βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή τέχνη*. Athens 1986, 39–40 (no. 25).

<sup>17</sup> *Ibidem* 47–8 (no. 36).

<sup>18</sup> For the objects carried by the Healer Saints see A. XYNGOPOULOS, *Το αναγλύφον των Αγίων Αναργύρων εις τον Άγιον Μάρκον της Βενετίας*. *AD* 20 (1965) *Meletai* 84, note 5.

<sup>19</sup> For Cosmas, see W. F. VOLBACH, *Gli smalti della Pala d’Oro*, in: *Il Tesoro di San Marco – La Pala d’Oro*, ed. H. R. HAHNLOSER. Firenze 1965, 48–9 (no 96), tav. L; for Damien *ibidem* 68 (no. 157), tav. LVIII.

<sup>20</sup> St. PELEKANIDES – M. CHATZIDAKES, *Καστοριά*. Athens 1992, 30 (ill. 7).

same church and period there comes the “household” icon of the Saints<sup>21</sup> with the oldest iconographic cycle in existence in the East depicted on the frame of the icon (the icon was later repainted, but it has recently been cleaned, with the repainting removed and separately mounted) (pl. 2, fig. 2). The next cycle chronologically is to be found in the frescoes of Saint Demetrios in Mistra, from the Palaeologan era<sup>22</sup>. It is no exaggeration to say that the fresco of Saint Damian in Pantokrator Monastery on Athos (fourteenth century)<sup>23</sup> is an excellent example of Byzantine art (pl. 2, fig. 3).

### SAINTS CYRUS AND JOHN

The Stavrotheke of Philotheos<sup>24</sup> (pl. 2, fig. 4), a Byzantine silver piece dating from the twelfth Century, now in the Moscow Kremlin, is an excellent example conveying the Byzantine ideal about Healing Saints. The centre is a *Stavrotheke* (“reliquary of the True Cross”), and Saints Cosmas and Damian are depicted in full stature, while on the upper part Saints Cyrus and Panteleimon (Pantaleon) the Healer are represented in half figure, as *imago clipeata*.

Saint Cyrus and his fellow-martyr John<sup>25</sup> are two healers, also known as “Unmercenaries” but not as emphatically as Saints Cosmas and Damian. It is significant that they are commemorated twice in the year. Their main feast is celebrated on 31 January<sup>26</sup> while the feast of the translation of their relics is held on 28 June<sup>27</sup>. This acts as evidence of their wide-spread cult. Saints Cyrus and John lived at the end of the third century, at the time when Diocletian was emperor. Cyrus was from Alexandria, and John from Edessa of Mesopotamia. Cyrus was a physician with much experience, and of great compassion, caring both for the souls and bodies of the sick. During the persecution of the Christians, Cyrus departed from Arabia where he had lived as a monastic, reaching a high level of virtue and spirituality. Through him God wrought miracles, healing every sickness and infirmity whenever Saint Cyrus would make the sign of the Cross over the sick. Saint John was a soldier. While in Jerusalem he heard about the miracles of Saint Cyrus, and came to him in order to assist him in his labours. The occasion of their martyrdom arose when a woman named Athanasia with her three daughters were apprehended by the authorities. The Saints visited them in prison to encourage them not to deny Christ. In this manner they were also apprehended and suffered martyrdom together with Athanasia and her three daughters, after many torments. Their memory is kept on 31 January.

The relics of Saints Cyrus and John were placed in the basilica of Saint Mark in Alexandria, but due to the great veneration of the faithful which they received, Saint Cyril of Alexandria had them translated to a shrine at Menuthis, which later became known as Abu Kyr<sup>28</sup>. Patriarch Sophronios of Jerusalem, healed by them from a disease of the eyes, wrote an encomium in their honour, and recorded seventy miracles from the hundreds that had taken place down to his own days<sup>29</sup>.

Their cult was widespread in the Christian world, and is well attested<sup>30</sup>, with many examples in art as well<sup>31</sup>. A good example of this is their portrayal in the Church of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome<sup>32</sup>, executed

<sup>21</sup> Affreschi e Icone dalla Grecia. Atene 1986, 65–7 (no 28).

<sup>22</sup> G. MILLET, Monuments byzantins de Mistra. Paris 1910, tabs. 73–4; for the date of the frescoes, see M. CHATZEDAKES, Νεώτερα για την ιστορία και την τέχνη της μητροπόλεως του Μυστρά. *DchAE* 4 (1959) A 72–9.

<sup>23</sup> E. N. TSIGARIDAS, Τοιχογραφίες της περιόδου των Παλαιολόγων σε ναούς της Μακεδονίας. Thessalonica 1999, ill. 37.

<sup>24</sup> H. C. EVANS – W. D. WIXON (ed.), The Glory of Byzantium. New York 1997, 80–1 (no 39).

<sup>25</sup> On their hagiography, see FESTUGIERE, *op. cit.* 215–56; DÉLÉHAYE, recueils antiques 19–32 and 67–69; also Bibliotheca Sanctorum IV 2–5; *LThK* VI 716–7.

<sup>26</sup> For this commemoration, see SynEC 433–5.

<sup>27</sup> For this commemoration, see SynEC 775–6.

<sup>28</sup> For their cult in Menuthis, see: R. HERZOG, Der Kampf um den Kult von Menuthis, in: Pisciculi Festschrift F. J. Dölger (*Antike und Christentum. Erg.-Band* 1). Münster 1939, 117–24; H. DÉLÉHAYE, Les saints d' Aboukir. *AnBoll* 30 (1911) 448–50.

<sup>29</sup> Text: PG 87, 3373–3690; new edition N. FERNANDEZ MARCOS, Los thaumata de Sofronio – contribucion al estudio de la incubatio cristiana. Madrid 1975.

<sup>30</sup> J. EBERSOLT, Constantinople, Recueil d'études d'archéologie et d'histoire. Paris 1951, 97; C. HUELSEN, Le Chiese di Roma nel Medioevo. Firenze 1927, 151 seqq.

<sup>31</sup> *LCI* V 2–4; G. KAFTAL, Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting. Florence 1965, 341–4; H. AURENHAMMER, Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie, I. Wien 1959, 6–7.

<sup>32</sup> J. WILPERT, Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom 4.–13. Jahrhundert, IV. Freiburg /B. 1916, tabs. 145.1 and 196A.



around 760 (pl. 3, fig. 1). Here Saint Cyrus is depicted holding a scalpel and a box of medications in the classic iconography of Unmercenary Healers. The Saints are also portrayed with the other Unmercenarys on the Pala d'Oro at San Marco in Venice<sup>33</sup>, in the mosaics of Hosios Lukas, and in the frescoes of Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessalonica<sup>34</sup>, all three examples dating from the eleventh century. As an instance of their widespread cult, we mention here their representation in the frescos of Timotheubani Monastery in Georgia<sup>35</sup> (thirteenth century) (pl. 3, fig. 2–3). It is clear that in most cases the painters depict Cyrus as an old monk, in contrast to the much younger John. Saint John is depicted regularly as a young man, for example in a later fresco at Zagora (in Pelion, Greece)<sup>36</sup>, dated 1645/6 (pl. 3, fig. 4).

### SAINTS PANTELEIMON (PANTALEON) AND HERMOLAOS

The next pair of Healing Saints are Saints Panteleimon (Pantaleon) and Hermolaos, of whom Saint Panteleimon is the more prominent, his veneration rivalling that of Saints Cosmas and Damian. They are depicted together in the Church of Saint Nikolas Orphanos in Thessalonica, in a fresco dating to the beginning of the fourteenth century<sup>37</sup> (pl. 4, fig. 1). Saint Hermolaos<sup>38</sup> was a priest in Nikomedia, and the teacher of Saint Panteleimon in Christian faith. He was beheaded under Maximian in the year 304, and is venerated in association with Saint Panteleimon. He is depicted in ancient monuments in Cappadocia, in Kiliçlar Kilisse (circa 900)<sup>39</sup> and in Şakli Kilisse (circa 1070)<sup>40</sup>, and among the healers in the Pala d'Oro (eleventh century)<sup>41</sup>. Being a priest, he is always depicted in priest's vestments<sup>42</sup> usually holding the Gospel in his hands, as is the case in a beautiful repoussé plaque now in the collection at Dumbarton Oaks, dating from the eleventh century<sup>43</sup> (pl. 4, fig. 2).

Saint Panteleimon<sup>44</sup> was also from Nikomedia, and was martyred at the same time as Saint Hermolaos. His father was a Greek and idolater, Eustorgios by name. His mother, a Christian from her parents, was named Euboula. Saint Panteleimon studied the medical arts under his teacher Euphrosynos, who was a celebrated physician. It was from Saint Hermolaos that he learned the spiritual healing of souls, which is the Christian faith, the medicine of Christ. Saint Panteleimon restored to life a child who had been bitten by a snake, calling upon the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and also restored the sight of a blind man. He was beheaded after many tortures. His memory is celebrated on July 27.

Many churches are dedicated to Saint Panteleimon, and there are innumerable representations of him<sup>45</sup>, the oldest being a relief from North Africa<sup>46</sup>, dating from the fifth and sixth centuries. In the church of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome there is a depiction of Saint Panteleimon dating from 705<sup>47</sup>, where he is represented together with Saints Cosmas and Damian. This iconographic type became the one most cherished by the faithful, joining the three more famous healers in a single representation. He is depicted twice in the enamels

<sup>33</sup> VOLBACH, *op. cit.* 69 (no 161), tav. XLVIII & LVIII.

<sup>34</sup> K. PAPADOPOULOS, Die Wandmalereien des XI. Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessaloniki (BV 2). Graz–Köln 1966, 34.

<sup>35</sup> E. L. PRIVALOVA, Rospis ' Timotesubani. Tbilisi 1980, tabs. XLVI and XLVII.

<sup>36</sup> A. TOURTA, Οι ναοί του Αγίου Νικολάου στη Βίτσα και του Αγίου Μηνά στο Μονοδένδρι. Athens 1991, tabs. 124a.

<sup>37</sup> A. TSITOURIDOU, Η εντοίχεια ζωγραφική του Αγίου Νικολάου στη Θεσσαλονίκη. Thessalonica 1978, ill. 95.

<sup>38</sup> For his commemoration on 26 July, see SynEC 843. Hagiographical references: Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis, ed. P. Peeters. Brussels 1910, 183; *BHL* I 575, III 312; Bibliotheca Sanctorum V 65–7; AASS Jul VI, 426–9.

<sup>39</sup> G. M. JERPHANION, La voix des monuments, I. Paris 1930, tab. 59.3.

<sup>40</sup> M. RESTLE, Die byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien. Recklinghausen 1967, vol. II, ill. 21, 25, 42, III, ill. 436.

<sup>41</sup> VOLBACH, *op. cit.* 69 (no 159), tav. XLIV and LVIII.

<sup>42</sup> For this iconography, see *LCI* VI 511–2.

<sup>43</sup> EVANS – WIXON, *op. cit.* 159–60 (no 106).

<sup>44</sup> For his commemoration on 27 July, see SynEC 847–8. On his Hagiography, see *BHG* II 166–8; Bibliotheca Sanctorum X 108–17; *LThK* VIII 25; H. DÉLEHAYE, Les origines du culte des Martyres. Bruxelles 1912, 181 seqq., A. PONCELET, Miracula S. Pantaleonis. *AnBoll* 17 (1898) 179–90.

<sup>45</sup> For his iconography, see *LCI* VIII 112–5; L. REAU, Iconographie de l'art chrétien. Paris 1955, III/3 1024–6; KAFTAL, *op. cit.* 837–45; K. KÜNSTLE, Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst I: Prinzipienlehre–Hilfsmotive–Offenbarungstatsachen. II: Ikonographie der Heiligen. Freiburg / B. 1926–1928, II 485.

<sup>46</sup> Ch. COURTOIS, Sur un carreau de terre-cuite représentant Saint Pantaleon. *Karthago* 3 (1951/52) 207–13.

<sup>47</sup> WILPERT, *op. cit.* IV, tab. 165.

of the Pala d'Oro<sup>48</sup>. It should be noted that there are iconographic cycles of his life and martyrdom, the oldest example being in the Church of San Angelo in Formis in Italy, dating from the eleventh century<sup>49</sup>, while the iconographic cycle in Nerezi (from 1064)<sup>50</sup> comes from a church dedicated to him. This monument is one of the most important examples of the Comnenian style of iconography. One of the most eminent depictions of Saint Panteleimon is the renowned and beautiful icon from the early thirteenth century, preserved at the Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai<sup>51</sup> (pl. 4, fig. 3). This is a large icon, and on the frame is depicted the Saint's life, beginning with his catechesis by Saint Hermolaos at the upper left corner, and concluding with his death and burial at the bottom right. His portrayal in the centre shows him as a young man with curly hair, like Saint George. He is holding a box containing medications in his left band, and a cross in his right.

### OTHER UNMERCENARY SAINTS

Saint Samson<sup>52</sup> the Hospitable and Saint Diomedes<sup>53</sup>, two other healers, are depicted together in the Church of Saint Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessalonica, painted in the fourteenth century<sup>54</sup> (pl. 4, fig. 4). In this case and in an effort to depart from the strict iconography of the Unmercenary Healers, Saint Samson is depicted holding not a box of medications, but a large vial. Saint Samson lived at the time of the emperor Justinian. He was a native of Rome. In the year 541 he gave away all his possessions to the poor and departed for Constantinople. There patriarch Menas ordained him a priest. He was a haven of refuge for the sick and the poor. He was also an experienced physician. By the grace of God he healed the emperor Justinian of a chronic illness. For this the emperor, marvelling at his virtue, honoured him by building a large hospital for all who were in need of physical and spiritual assistance. Saint Samson reposed in God, and his relics were entombed in the Church of Saint Mokios, who is also honoured among the Healing Saints. There they emitted a great fragrance, and wrought all manner of healings. The memory of Saint Samson is celebrated on June 27.

Saint Diomedes was from Tarsos of Cilicia, also a physician by training. He healed both bodies and souls at the time of the emperor Diocletian. He lived in Nicaea of Bithynia. When the ruler learned that he was a Christian, he sent soldiers to behead him, but he passed away before they arrived. In spite of this, they beheaded him to show his head to the ruler, but were blinded. At the command of the ruler, the head of the Saint was restored to its place, and they again received their sight. His memory is kept on August 16. He is depicted with other Unmercenary Saints on the Pala d'Oro in Venice<sup>55</sup>.

Other Healing Saints are Photios and Aniketos<sup>56</sup>, Mokios<sup>57</sup>, and Thalelaeos<sup>58</sup>, (who is depicted among the Healers on the Pala d'Oro)<sup>59</sup>. More frequently we meet with depictions of Saint Tryphon<sup>60</sup>, who was a goose

<sup>48</sup> VOLBACH, *op. cit.* 62 (no 140), tav. XLII and LVI, 68 (no 158), tav. XLV and LVIII.

<sup>49</sup> Bibliotheca Sanctorum X, ill. 107.

<sup>50</sup> R. HAMANN-MACLEAN – H. HALLENSLEBEN, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien von 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert*. Giessen 1963, 18, ill. 45.

<sup>51</sup> EVANS – WIXON, *op. cit.* 379 (no 249).

<sup>52</sup> For his commemoration in 27 June, see SynEC 773. On his hagiography, see F. HALKIN, Saint Samson le xénodoque de Constantinople (VI siècle). *RSBN* n.s. 14–16 (1977–1979) 5–17; *BHG* II 230. For his iconography *LCI* VIII 309.

<sup>53</sup> For his commemoration in 16 August, see SynEC 901. On his hagiography, see Bibliotheca Sanctorum IV 629–30; L.G. WESTERINK, Textes inédits sur Saint Diomede. *AnBoll* 84 (1966), 161–227. On his iconography, see *LCI* VI 58.

<sup>54</sup> TSITOURIDOU, *op. cit.*, ill. 96.

<sup>55</sup> VOLBACH, *op. cit.* 67 (no 155), tav. XLVIII and LVIII.

<sup>56</sup> For their commemoration on 12 August, see SynEC 885–6. On their hagiography, see Bibliotheca Sanctorum I 1265–6; *BHG* II 209. For their iconography, see *LCI* VIII 211.

<sup>57</sup> For his commemoration on 11 May, see SynEC 674–5. For his hagiography, see Bibliotheca Sanctorum IX 512; F. HALKIN, Une Passion de S. Mocius. *AnBoll* 83 (1965), 5–22; H. DÉLÉHAYE, Saints de Thrace et de Mésie. *AnBoll* 31 (1912) 162–87, 225–32; *BHG* II 124; *LCI* VIII 24–5.

<sup>58</sup> For his commemoration on 20 May, see: SynEC 697–8. For his hagiography, see F. HALKIN, S. Thalélé, anachorete ou martyr? *AnBoll* 95 (1977) 72; R. BRÖCHER, Der Hl. Thalelaios. Münster 1976; Bibliotheca Sanctorum XII 109–11; *BHG* II 266; on his iconography, see *LCI* VIII 428.

<sup>59</sup> VOLBACH, *op. cit.* 67–8 (no 156), tav. XLII and LVI.

<sup>60</sup> For his commemoration on 1 February, see SynEC 437. For his hagiography, see Bibliotheca Sanctorum XII 656–657; *LThK* X 382–3; 307–9; *BHG* II 307–9; *BHL* 1206–7. For his iconography, see *LCI* VIII 501–2.

herder, and is portrayed as a young beardless man, as for example in Göreme in Cappadocia, circa 1070<sup>61</sup>, this being one of the earliest representations of him that survives. He is also depicted on the Pala d'Oro<sup>62</sup>, and in Nerezi<sup>63</sup>. In post-Byzantine iconography as well as in contemporary examples, he is also depicted holding a pruning knife, symbolizing his role as a protector of vineyards, as may be seen in the frescoes of Saint Michael's Church at the Backovo Monastery in Bulgaria<sup>64</sup>, dating from 1841 (pl. 5, fig. 1). We should mention that his cult was developed in the Greek Empire of Nicaea (1204–1261), where he was declared a patron of the Laskarid rulers.

Saint Antipas<sup>65</sup>, Bishop of Pergamum, mentioned in the second chapter of the Book of Revelation of Saint John, suffered martyrdom under Domitian in the year 83. He is called upon for the healing of teeth. The basilica at the Sinai Monastery includes a chapel to his memory, on the north side, as well as celebrated icons of the Saint<sup>66</sup>.

Saint Stelianos<sup>67</sup> a native of Paphlagonia, gave away all his earthly goods and took up the monastic life. He was very ascetical, and later departed into the wilderness, where he received food from the Holy Angels. He is renowned to this day as a healer of infants and children, being entreated in times of need by their parents, and that is why he is usually depicted holding an infant in his arms<sup>68</sup>.

### WOMEN HEALING SAINTS

A number of women Saints have also been venerated as Unmercenary Healers, although not exclusively. In the pre-iconoclastic Church of the Virgin "Drosiané" on the Island of Naxos (in the Cyclades of Greece) there are traces of a depiction dating from the seventh century, showing a woman Saint with the attributes of an Unmercenary Physician<sup>69</sup> (pl. 5, fig. 2). Unfortunately, the obscurity of the painting does not allow a precise identification, but in her left hand we see the small bag of medications that we saw earlier in the depiction of Saint Luke from the Roman catacombs.

Saint Thekla<sup>70</sup>, a companion of Saint Paul, was held in great veneration as a Healer in the east. Her shrine was located in Seleukeia. Also held in great honour was Saint Hermione<sup>71</sup>, the daughter of the Apostle Philip, her temple located in Ephesos. Could the Saint in the church at Naxos be Saint Thekla or Saint Hermione? In addition, it should be noted that Saint Photine<sup>72</sup>, the woman with whom Christ spoke at the well of Samaria, was held in great veneration in Constantinople, as is well attested<sup>73</sup> and this was where she was revered especially for miracles of healing and afflictions of the eyes<sup>74</sup>.

In Late Byzantine times, Saint Paraskeve<sup>75</sup> the righteous virgin-martyr, became venerated for such miracles, and from the first half of the fourteenth century and later, there exist iconographic cycles of her life and martyrdom, the oldest surviving being that in the Church of Donja Kamenica in Yugoslavia (fourteenth century)<sup>76</sup>. In her martyrdom it is recorded that she healed the blindness of the ruler who was interrogating her,

<sup>61</sup> RESTLE, *op. cit.* II, ill. 25.

<sup>62</sup> VOLBACH, *op. cit.* 63 (no. 141), tav. XLII and LVI.

<sup>63</sup> G. MILLET, *La peinture du moyen age en Yougoslavie*. Album présenté par A. FROLOW, I. Paris 1954, tab. 20.4.

<sup>64</sup> C. MUTATOV, *Medicinata v bulgarskata ikonopis*. Sofia 1992, ill. 4.

<sup>65</sup> For his commemoration, see SynEC 595–8; for his iconography, see LCI V 201.

<sup>66</sup> K. MANAPHES (ed.), *Σινά – Οι Θησαυροί της Ι. Μονής Αγίας Αικατερίνης*. Athens 1990, 36–7 (ill. 3).

<sup>67</sup> For his commemoration, see SynEC 259–60.

<sup>68</sup> For his iconography, see LCI VIII 410–11.

<sup>69</sup> N. DRANDAKES, *op. cit.* 41–42, 72, tabs. 11d and VIa. The author suspects that this Healing Saint could be identified with Saint Anastasia *Pharmakolytria* ("Healer of potions").

<sup>70</sup> For her commemoration on 24 September, see SynEC 75–78. For her hagiography, see G. DAGRON, *Les miracles de Sainte Thècle*. Bruxelles 1978; FESTUGIÈRE, *op. cit.*, 11–82. On her iconography, see LCI VIII 432–6.

<sup>71</sup> For her commemoration on 4 September, see SynEC 14–5. On her iconography, see LCI VI 511.

<sup>72</sup> For her commemoration, see SynEC 549–52. On her iconography, see LCI VIII 210.

<sup>73</sup> JANIN, *op. cit.* 499–500.

<sup>74</sup> Alice-Mary TALBOT, The posthumous miracles of Saint Photeine. *AnBoll* 112 (1994) 85–103.

<sup>75</sup> For more bibliography about the various texts of her Passion, and a good study of her iconography, see S. ΚΟΥΚΙΑΡΕΣ, *Ο κύκλος του βίου της Αγίας Παρασκευής της Ρωμαίας και της εξ Ικονίου στη χριστιανική τέχνη*. (PhD) Athens 1994. See also LCI VIII 118–20.

<sup>76</sup> B. ŽIVKOVIĆ, *Donja Kamenica (cirtezi fresoka)*. Beograd 1987.

and from this she became venerated for healings of the eyes. She is held in great honour, especially among the shepherds in the rural parts of Greece. Her icons, adorned with precious metal covers, have been regarded as veritable spiritual treasures, as is the case of an icon with a silver cover dating from 1784, brought to Greece by the Christians when they left Asia Minor as refugees<sup>77</sup> (pl. 5, fig. 3). In the twentieth century she is almost always depicted holding a small plate with a pair of eyes. This is an element of western iconographic influence, evidently taken from depictions of Saint Lucia of Syracuse in Sicily<sup>78</sup>, who has been widely venerated for healing of blindness in the Latin west.

Among the women Saints, mention must also be made of the patron of the Sinai Monastery, Saint Catherine<sup>79</sup>, who was renowned for her study of medicine. As it is recorded in her Life, “She was educated in all Greek literature, and had learned all the poets, Homer, Virgil, Aristotle, and Plato; and not only the philosophers, but also the books of the physicians, Asclepius, Hippocrates, and Galen.” She suffered martyrdom soon after her baptism, martyred under Maxentius in the year 305, and was, thus, unable to exercise this gift within her lifetime. But her relics are fragrant, preserved in the Monastery of Saint Catherine to this day, and the multitude of miracles that have been wrought at her intercessions are witnesses to her healing ministrations. At the Monastery, a ring is given to all who venerate her holy relics, not only because of the mention in her Life, that she received a ring from Christ, token of her union with Him, but as a way of getting to the faithful this spiritual grace of healing. A venerable icon dating from the thirteenth century, depicting her in the vesture of a princess, with a full iconographic cycle of her life and martyrdom included in the border<sup>80</sup>, has recently been exhibited in Saint Petersburg and London (pl. 5, fig. 4).

#### SAINTS WHO ARE HEALERS OF ANIMALS

In a later post-Byzantine icon of 1776, in addition to Saints Cosmas, Damian, and Panteleimon, the renowned healers of men, on the right we see Saints Modestos and Mamas, protectors and Healers of animals<sup>81</sup> (pl. 6, fig. 1). The lives of these Saints record their great love and protection for animals, and they are venerated as having received a special grace for miracles in the animal kingdom. There are also special prayers included in the *Euchologion* associated with these Saints and read for the blessing of animals.

Saint Mamas<sup>82</sup>, who was martyred in Caesarea of Cappadocia, was the son of martyred parents<sup>83</sup>. He gave away his property to the poor and lived in the wilderness, sustained by the milk of wild animals; a Christian ascetic living like the first-created man (of ecological significance). Two excellent encomia in praise of this Martyr have been preserved, one composed by Saint Basil the Great and another by Saint Gregory the Theologian, both of whom lived not far from the shrine of the Saint. Saint Mamas is frequently depicted with animals, especially on the back of a lion, as is the case in a repoussé “tondo” of the eleventh century, in Georgia<sup>84</sup>. The same iconography is repeated many times, a small lamb being added in his arms, as is the case of a beautiful icon painted in the Byzantine style on Cyprus in the sixteenth century<sup>85</sup> (pl. 6, fig. 2).

Saint Modestos<sup>86</sup>, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who died in 634, did much to restore the Holy Land from the destruction of the Persians, and in keeping with his veneration in popular piety, he is known as the protector

<sup>77</sup> P. LAZARIDES, Ειδική έκθεση κειμηλίων προσφύγων. Athens 1982, 65, ill. 94.

<sup>78</sup> On her iconography, see *LCI* VII 415–20, esp. 416.

<sup>79</sup> For her commemoration on 25 (or alternatively 24) November, see SynEC 253–4. On her iconography, see *LCI* VII 290–97. G. GALAVARIS, Η Αγία Αικατερίνα σε εικόνες της Ι. Μονής Σινά. *Sinaitika Analekta* 1 (2002) 1–38. On her hagiographical texts, see D. TSAMES – K. KATSANES, Το Μαρτυρολόγιον του Σινά. Thessalonica 1989, 35–133.

<sup>80</sup> O. BADDLEJ – E. BRJUNNER – Ju. PJATNIZKIJ, Sinai – Bizantija – Rus. Pravoslavnoe iskusstvo s v do načalo 20 veka. Sankt Peterburg 2000, 244–6 (no S60).

<sup>81</sup> L. PRASKOV – E. BAKALOVA – S. BOJADSEV, Manastirite v Bulgaria. Sofia 1992, 250 (iil. a).

<sup>82</sup> For his commemoration on 2 September, see SynEC 5–7. Hagiographical texts: H. DÉLÉHAYE, Passio Sancti Mamatis. *AnBoll* 58 (1940) 126–41. On his iconography, see *LCI* VII 483–5.

<sup>83</sup> For his hagiographical texts, legends, cult and art as well, see A. MARABA-CHATZINIKOLAOU, Ο Άγιος Μάμας. Athens 1953.

<sup>84</sup> R. MEPISASHVILI – V. TSINTSADZE, The Arts of Ancient Georgia. Leipzig 1979, 261 (ill. a and b).

<sup>85</sup> D. PAPANIKOLA-MPAKIRTZE – M. IAKOBOU (edd.), Βυζαντινή μεσαιωνική Κύπρος. Leukosia 1997, 230–1 (no 153).

<sup>86</sup> For his commemoration on 16 (or 18) December, see SynEC 313–4. Hagiographical References: S. EUSTRATIADOU, Αγιολόγιον της Ορθοδόξου Εκκλησίας. Athens 1960, 340; Ch. PAPADOPOULOU, Ιστορία της Εκκλησίας Ιεροσολύμων. Jerusalem–Alexandria 1910, 245–7; *LthK* VII 516. On his iconography, see *LCI* VIII 20.



of cattle<sup>87</sup>. A late icon from the Island of Paros (in the Cyclades, Greece), dating from the seventeenth century (pl. 6, fig. 3), stresses this capacity, depicting him holding a calf in an idyllic composition<sup>88</sup>.

### SINAI HEALERS

Two Saints who lived at Sinai were renowned for their gifts of healing. The first is Saint Moses of Pharan<sup>89</sup>, who spent most of his life in Rhaitho. He was a great ascetic, and lived a most abstemious life. God fulfilled all his requests, and he was given a special grace from God for the healing of illnesses and the casting out of unclean spirits. Because of this, all the inhabitants of Pharan came to believe in the Holy Trinity and received baptism. Pharan became the see of the bishop of Sinai. Saint Moses lived in the fourth century. His memory is celebrated on November 27<sup>90</sup>, but no representation of him survives.

When a certain Isauros was abbot of the Sinai monastery, the Virgin Mary appeared to one paralytic in the *nosokomeion*, commanding him to be taken to the abbot, that he might regain his health. He was brought into the abbot's presence, and he placed a relic of the cincture of the Virgin Mary upon him, and from that moment he was healed of his paralysis and returned to his home, restored to health and praising God<sup>91</sup>. Isauros might have been the founder of the *nosokomeion*, according to a letter of Pope Gregory the Great, who (in 600) sent equipment for this institution, called *hierochomium*<sup>92</sup>. It is unclear, if "Isauros" is the abbot's Christian name or if it simply denotes his native country, Isauria in Asia Minor. In the latter case "Isauros" may be identified with Saint Longinos<sup>93</sup>, who was abbot of Sinai at the time when the emperor Justinian built the great basilica. In a unique example Saint Longinos is depicted as a priest in an *imago clipeata* in the apse mosaic of the Sinai basilica, dating from the sixth century<sup>94</sup> (pl. 6, fig. 4).

### MODERN HEALING SAINTS

Among those Saints who are especially venerated in Greece today for their miracles of healing are Saint Spyridon<sup>95</sup>, the fourth century Cypriot bishop whose relics are preserved on the island of Kerkyra; Saint Gerasimos<sup>96</sup>, an ascetic of the sixteenth century, whose relics are on the Island of Kephallonia; and Saint Dionysios of Zakynthos<sup>97</sup>, who was active in the early seventeenth century. The relics of each of these Saints are incorrupt, the goal of pilgrims, and renowned for their healings, and they are enshrined on these three islands along the western coast of Greece.

In the sixteenth century there lived also the Righteous David<sup>98</sup>, founder of the Monastery of the Holy Transfiguration on the Island of Euboia, whose tomb became the site of many miracles, where illnesses are cured and evil spirits cast out. He is held in esteem as the protector of fields and of agriculture, and his feast-day is kept on November 1, together with that of Saints Cosmas and Damian.

Mention must also be made of Saint Nektarios of Aegina, who died in 1920<sup>99</sup>. He is celebrated throughout the world for the innumerable miracles of healing that have been wrought through his intercessions. Saint

<sup>87</sup> St. IMELLOS, Ο Ἅγιος Μοδέστος ἐν Νάξῳ. *Epeteris Etaireias Kykladikon Spoudon* 4 (1969) 376–81.

<sup>88</sup> A. MITSANE, Εἰκόνες καὶ κειμήλια ἀπὸ τῆ συλλογῆς τῆς Ἐκατονταπυλιανῆς Πάρου. Athens 1996, 26–7 (no. 7).

<sup>89</sup> D. TSAMES (ed.), Το Γεροντικόν του Σινά. Thessalonica 1988, 186–8.

<sup>90</sup> For his commemoration, see Σύναξις πάντων των Σιναιτών Αγίων. Athens 1998, 174–5.

<sup>91</sup> F. NAU, Le texte grec des récits du moine Anastase sur les saints pères du Sinai. *Oriens christianus* 2 (1902) 79–80 (no XXXIII).

<sup>92</sup> Epist. XI 2 (S. Gregorii Magni registum epistularum libri VIII–XIV, ed. D. NORBERG, CCSL 140, Turnholt 1982, 860). Another recit of Anastasios maintains, that a Pope of Rome has been the hospital's founder: NAU, *op. cit.* 82–3 (no XXXIX).

<sup>93</sup> TSAMES, *op. cit.* 138. V. BENEŠEVIĆ, Sur la date de la mosaïque de la transfiguration au Mont Sinai. *Byz* 1 (1924) 153–64.

<sup>94</sup> MANAPHES, *op. cit.* 82 (ill. 15).

<sup>95</sup> For his commemoration on 12 December, see SynEC 303. On bis hagiography, see P. VAN DEN VEN, La légende de Saint-Spyridon, évêque de Trimithonte. Louvain 1953; H. DÉLÉHAYE, Saints de Chypre. *AnBoll* 26 (1907) 239–41. On his iconography, see *LCI* VIII 387–9.

<sup>96</sup> Ch. PAPADOPOULOS, Ο Ἅγιος Γεράσιμος ὁ Νεὸς Ἀσκητὴς Κεφαλληνίας. *Theologia* 18 (1940) 7–27.

<sup>97</sup> B. MATTHAIΟΥ (ed.), Ο Μέγας Συναξαριστής τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας XII 484–99.

<sup>98</sup> MATTHAIΟΥ, *op. cit.* XI 67–86.

<sup>99</sup> MATTHAIΟΥ, *op. cit.* XI 269–97.

Arsenios of Cappadocia is one of the Saints of Greece, glorified only in the last decade. He came from Cappadocia in Asia Minor, where he was celebrated for working miracles for both Christians and Moslems. He died in Greece in 1924. He is entreated especially by women bearing children.

In the Holy Gospels, numerous miracles are recorded, wrought by the Incarnate Logos, who healed infirmities of both soul and body. It is of critical importance to understand this link between body and soul. Miracles have been wrought since by the Holy Apostles and all the Saints — Martyrs, Hieromartyrs, Hierarchs, Righteous —, who exercised this beneficial activity for suffering man, whom they perceived in his wholeness. In this we have the understanding that illnesses are symptomatic of fallen human nature. Our lives are closed by death in the providence of God, that evil should not become immortal. But in Christ, as the New Adam, we can return to that state which Adam enjoyed before the Fall. In Christ we can also be restored to physical Well-Being, though we cannot escape the inevitability of death. And for believers, in the kingdom of God, the New Jerusalem, (which is the goal of human life and all creation), all men will be fashioned anew, to abide with Him for all eternity, body and soul reunited at the Last Day, on the Second Coming of Christ, when new life will commence in glory in the Uncreated Light of the Holy Trinity.

We pray and ask that the grace of all the Saints of the Church — but especially those who are renowned for their grace of healing, and whom we have enumerated briefly here, and whom we venerate in the holy icons, our veneration being accorded to the prototype, as Saint John of Damascus has set forth, — may grant us all healing and health of both body and soul.

*(Mr. Nicholas Fyssas, historian of Byzantine Art, was of great assistance in the preparation of this paper)*

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## The Man in the Street: Some problems of gender and identity in Byzantine material culture (with plate 7)

The links between gender, identity and material culture are perhaps not immediately obvious, but in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, “everyday life” is defined as “ordinary human activity and comprises diet and costume, behaviour and superstitions, entertainment, housing and furniture”, all aspects of material culture<sup>1</sup>. The Man in the Street is the individual whose “ordinary human activity” and material culture are addressed; but who is this individual? When we talk of Byzantine material culture, who are the Byzantines we mean?

Everyday life, ordinary human activity, is a tricky topic in Byzantium<sup>2</sup>. The sources are limited and problematic; written or visual, their focus tends to lie with the extraordinary, that worthy of record. The same is true of the Man in the Street, the generic Byzantine. A great deal is known about emperors, generals, patriarchs, abbots, the aristocracy and those who left the records, but the “average Byzantine” is an elusive figure who flits peripherally through histories and hagiographies, letters and legal documents, and who might be pictured on the edge of battle or lurking cheering in the corner of the Hippodrome. In such pictorial examples, an additional problem is that costumes, gestures and attitudes of figures, above all in sacred scenes, appear conventional. Should these figures be taken as “merely” conventional? Do peripheral details in urban and rural scenes reflect contemporary circumstances or artistic convention? This issue of the “conventional” and how to decipher it is what this paper takes as its focus, through a specific case-study which looks very literally at depictions of the Man in the Street: the portrayal of eunuchs and the question of whether they are shown as men, or as something else.

The term “man in the street” derives from Alexander Kazhdan’s *homo byzantinus*, discussed in his and Giles Constable’s *People and power in Byzantium* (Washington, DC 1982). Kazhdan claimed that *homo byzantinus* was a generic title, just the average Byzantine, male or female, and stated that “No-one will deny that *homo byzantinus*, like people of all times, had two legs, needed food, married, and raised children”. As Dion Smythe pointed out, this definition ruled out monks, nuns, bishops and the childless as possible examples of Byzantine man, despite their importance within Byzantine society<sup>3</sup>. Kazhdan asked “did a particular kind of Byzantine man exist?” His answer, as his chapter headings indicate, was an essentially materialistic survey: the material environment of *homo byzantinus*; Byzantine life and behaviour; *homo byzantinus* before God; *homo byzantinus* in the history of literature and art. He suggested that to find *homo byzantinus*, scholars should examine geography, the economy, taxes, diet, crafts, the difference between “rich” and “poor”. At the end of this, we should know what made Byzantine man different from those around him, what made him unique.

Kazhdan’s *homo byzantinus* is very much a product of Kazhdan’s own time and culture, with its emphasis on economics, taxes and the proletariat. Kazhdan may tell us the difference between “rich” and “poor”, but he does not tell us what the Byzantines laughed at, what made them weep, what they wanted from life, what gave them a sense of well-being. Indeed, for Kazhdan, the typical *homo byzantinus* appears to have been Kekaumenos, the man obsessed with the dangers of life, from rioting crowds and deceitful friends to falling rocks and poisonous mushrooms<sup>4</sup>. How far this is the average Byzantine man is debatable. What *People and*

<sup>1</sup> ODB ed. A. KAZHDAN et al. Oxford 1991.

<sup>2</sup> See C. MANGO, Daily life in Byzantium. *JÖB* 31/1 (1981) 337–53 and MANGO’s, Addendum to the report on everyday life. *JÖB* 32/1 (1982) 252–7.

<sup>3</sup> The Kazhdan quotation is from KAZHDAN – CONSTABLE, *People and Power* 22. SMYTHE’s response in D. C. SMYTHE, In denial: same-sex desire in Byzantium, in: *Desire and denial in Byzantium*, ed. L. JAMES (SPBS Publications 6). Aldershot 1999, 140.

<sup>4</sup> See KAZHDAN – CONSTABLE, *People and Power* 97–8.

*Power* also makes clear, as Charles Barber has already pointed out, is that Kazhdan's *homo byzantinus* is in fact *vir byzantinus*, the Byzantine male<sup>5</sup>. *Homo byzantinus* sustains the idea that men are the "natural" embodiment of Byzantine society. Kazhdan gave Byzantine women a separate one page section of their own and described them as shadowy figures, perhaps as shadowy then as we find the Byzantine man on the street now<sup>6</sup>. *Femina byzantina* had to wait ten years for Judith Herrin, in a paper written for Kazhdan's Dumbarton Oaks festschrift volume, published in 1992<sup>7</sup>. Thus, for Kazhdan, the Man on the Street was exactly that: the male Byzantine.

Kazhdan's focus lay with written texts and in this paper, we want to shift the ground to see what evidence one particular visual source might offer for the man in the street. One very common reserve used by scholars for images of "daily life in Byzantium" is the manuscript of the *Histories* of John Skylitzes in Madrid, the so-called *Madrid Skylitzes* (Bib.Nac.Vitr. 26–2)<sup>8</sup>. This twelfth century manuscript is the only illustrated Byzantine historical chronicle that survives to us. It deals with the period 811–1057 and contains 574 images with, on average, two to a page. It is, in the words of the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, "a prime source for our visualisation of imperial ceremony, weaponry and transportation by land and sea"<sup>9</sup>. Thus it serves as a veritable gold-mine for those looking for details of Byzantine material culture. Images from the *Madrid Skylitzes* have been used to illustrate a whole variety of scenes of "daily life". For example, "Conversation among men", is the label given to fol. 144a showing the generals John Tzimiskes and Romanos Kurkuas handing a letter to Nikephoros Phokas, which appears as an illustration in Paul Veyne's *A History of Private Life*. The words, "the artist as the servant of religion, charged with decorating the parts of churches not covered in mosaic also makes portraits of saints or of the Virgin and Child on portable panels for private use" are used to describe fol. 50b in Michel Kaplan's introductory book, *Tout l'or de Byzance*. But more specifically this folio shows the iconodule monk and icon painter Lazaros sitting in the Church of John the Baptist by the Black Sea painting an icon of John the Baptist in a storyline of his persecution and exile<sup>10</sup>.

Despite its use by modern scholars in the context of everyday life in Byzantium, the manuscript was almost certainly copied and illuminated in Norman Sicily and its relationship to life in Byzantium is problematic to say the least<sup>11</sup>. How far these are images made by Byzantines is very unclear; how far the miniatures reflect actual life in the Empire rather than Sicilian perceptions of that life, or even a translation of that life into something recognisable to Norman Sicilian perceptions is even less obvious<sup>12</sup>. Should we see the images as representing Byzantium in the twelfth century or as a part of a foreign, fantastical world translated into familiar terms for a Norman Sicilian elite audience which had not known and would not know Constantinople? A discussion of the veracity and accuracy, or otherwise, of the images of the *Madrid Skylitzes* has barely begun. How true is it, for example, to say that the armour shown in the manuscript, depicting soldiers between the ninth and eleventh centuries, accurately replicates the armour worn by Byzantine soldiers at these different periods, rather than showing twelfth century (Sicilian) armour?<sup>13</sup> The coronation of Leo V, as co-emperor, by Michael I, is an image sometimes taken to "show" what the ceremony of "raising on a shield" looked like,

<sup>5</sup> C. BARBER, *Homo byzantinus?* In: *Women, men and eunuchs. Gender in Byzantium*, ed. L. JAMES. London – New York 1997, 185–99, esp. 185–6.

<sup>6</sup> KAZHDAN – CONSTABLE, *People and power* 112–3 (making one full page; also glancing references on 20, 63, 72, 73).

<sup>7</sup> J. HERRIN, "Femina byzantina": the Council of Trullo on women. *DOP* 46 (1992) 97–105.

<sup>8</sup> Facsimile: Joannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum, codex Matritensis graecus vitr. 26–2, scientific consultant A. TSELIKAS. Athens 2000.

<sup>9</sup> *ODB*, s.v. Skylitzes, John.

<sup>10</sup> The icon depicted in fol. 50b is of the Virgin and Child, although the text states that it was of John the Baptist. M. KAPLAN, *Tout l'or de Byzance*. Paris 1991, 119, fol. 144 a has been captioned "Conversation among men" in E. PATLAGEAN, *Byzantium in the tenth and eleventh centuries*, in: *A history of private life vol.1*, ed. P. VEYNE. Harvard 1987, 614.

<sup>11</sup> On the Sicilian origin of the manuscript, see N. WILSON, *The Madrid Skylitzes. Scrittura e Civiltà* 2 (1979) 103–63 and I. ŠEVČENKO, *The Madrid manuscript of the chronicle of Skylitzes in light of its new dating*, in: *Byzanz und der Westen*, ed. I. HUTTER (*Öst. Akad. Wiss., Sb. phil.-hist.-Kl.* 432). Vienna 1984, 117–34.

<sup>12</sup> See the discussion in B. K. BJØRNHOLT, *The use and portrayal of spectacle in the Madrid Skylitzes* (Bib.Nac.vitr.26–2). (unpublished PhD Thesis) Belfast 2002, esp. ch. 2.

<sup>13</sup> A. BRUHN-HOFFMEYER, *Military equipment in the Byzantine manuscript of Scylitzes in the Bibliotheca Nacional in Madrid. Gladius* 5 (1966) 1–160.



but can this really be the case?<sup>14</sup> This scene, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>, depicts an event of 813, some 300 years before Skylitzes wrote.

Furthermore, in the quest for daily life, what is shown, time and again, in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, is the elite. There are, for example, about 275 images depicting emperors, and about 45 depicting empresses. There is perhaps one image that depicts the man in the street. The text to fol. 155<sup>v</sup> (fig. 1) describes the emperor Basil I riding to the Church of the Holy Apostles on a Feast Day when he encounters some citizens in the street<sup>15</sup>. They are described as pious and decent, but, because of the recent drop in the price of grain, they are depressed and not dressed for the occasion. In the image accompanying the text, these figures have been depicted in short tunics in sombre colours with similar coloured hats, and are bare-foot. The text contrasts these citizens with those accompanying the emperor, who are described as courtiers suitably dressed up for the Feast. These figures have been depicted in long colourful tunics and chlamydes, and with white and red hats. The image and the text present a perception of the proper dress for an official occasion, something that forms a recurrent theme throughout the manuscript. For the purpose at hand, the image also gives an impression of how ordinary “pious and decent” citizens going about their business should be depicted, although we have to keep in mind the specific point of despair made in the text, which may well account for the unusual lack of footwear of the figures. It is from scenes such as this, where we are told of the presence of “ordinary citizens”, that we can perhaps begin to piece together an image of the Man in the Street. However, there is another issue which concerns us here, and that is the question of gender: how do we, as the modern audience, identify the Man in the Street as opposed to the Woman? In other words, what are the codes for depicting gender in Byzantine images? Here we have space only to consider one, a symbol of gender that seems relatively unambiguous: the beard<sup>16</sup>. Does possession of a beard make a depicted figure unambiguously that of a man?

Fol. 55b (fig. 2) and 55<sup>a</sup> (fig. 3) illustrate part of the victory celebrations in 838. One of the Arab prisoners of war showed off his skills in horsemanship in the Hippodrome (fol. 55a). A Byzantine general was unimpressed by this, and challenged the Arab to a jousting match which the Byzantine, naturally, won (fol. 55<sup>a</sup>). Although two different artists may be responsible for the two images, the Byzantine is recognisably depicted with a beard in both pictures. However, he is identified by both the text and the caption to the image, as the general Theodore Krateros, who served under the emperor Theophilos, and who is described in several written sources as a eunuch. The issue here is that it is part of received wisdom that, in Byzantine art, eunuchs are always shown beardless, or, put another way, that beardlessness is a defining characteristic of images of eunuchs<sup>17</sup>. In the imperial panels in San Vitale in Ravenna, the two male attendants of the empress Theodora are frequently identified as eunuchs thanks to their lack of beards<sup>18</sup>. In Hagia Sophia in the tympanum mosaics, the eunuch Patriarch Ignatios is shown beardless and in the tenth century Leo Bible (Cod. Vat. Gr. 1), the donor, Leo the Sakellarios, chose to have himself portrayed offering his bible to the Virgin with a smooth face and grey hair falling down his back (fol. 2<sup>v</sup>). Here, Leo is identified as a eunuch because his titles, given behind him on the wall, record him as *Leo the patrikios, praepositos and sakkellarios presenting the bible to the most holy mother of God*. These were titles reserved to eunuchs, and so the combination of title and image together are taken to “prove” Leo was a eunuch<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> In *Raising on a shield in Byzantine iconography*. *REB* 33 (1975) 133–76, Christopher WALTER remarks on the validity of the iconographical theme as reflection of contemporary practice of the ceremony, concluding that it is ‘difficult to assess’, 173. For a different perception of the identity of the figures in the image see V. TSAMAKDA, *The illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid*. Leiden 2002, 43–6.

<sup>15</sup> *Synopsis Historion*, ed. J. THURN (*CFHB* 5). Berlin 1973, 277–8, 48–58.

<sup>16</sup> For a preliminary discussion of the gender significance of beards in Byzantium, see M. P. VINSON, *Gender and politics in the post-Iconoclastic period: the Lives of Antony the Younger, the Empress Theodora and the Patriarch Ignatios*. *Byz* 68 (1998) 469–515, esp. 510. We are grateful to Martha VINSON for this reference and for stimulating discussions about material culture.

<sup>17</sup> C. L. DUMITRESCU, *Quelques remarques en marge du Coislin 79: les trois eunuques*. *Byz* 57 (1987) 32–45. Also see VINSON, *Gender and politics*, n. 114.

<sup>18</sup> See for example, I. ANDREESCU-TREADGOLD – W. TREADGOLD, *Procopius and the imperial panels of San Vitale*. *Art Bulletin* 79 (1997) 708–23, 708.

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, I. SPATHARAKIS, *The portrait in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts*. Leiden 1976, esp. 7–14; *The Glory of Byzantium. Exhibition Catalogue*, eds. H. EVANS – W. WIXOM. New York 1997, Cat. No. 42, 88–90, esp. 90: “Leo’s beardless face and grey hair identify him as a eunuch”.

How, then, should we understand the bearded eunuch in the *Madrid Skylitzes*? Is he best explained as a rendition by a Sicilian artist, ignoring or unaware of Byzantine conventions, (in which case it adds to the debate about the usefulness or otherwise of the *Madrid Skylitzes* as a source for Byzantine material culture), or is it that the beard is there to emphasise the manliness of the general; that the war-like actions of the figure override the portrayal of him as a eunuch? A figure performing an heroic deed, a masculine action, must be shown as a man with masculine characteristics.

Psychologists have suggested that when looking at a person, we identify five gender clues to define sex<sup>20</sup>. These clues or secondary sexual characteristics involve attributes such as physique, hairstyle, including facial hair, clothing, shoes, and the activity they are involved in. Thus, a bearded figure in shorts chasing a round ball is identified unhesitatingly as male, and a beardless figure with flowing locks as female. Long-haired footballers and drag queens can present a problem. Further, in twenty-first century Western culture, figures are actually deemed to be male unless proven otherwise. Such an attitude may well have also been the case in Byzantium, which has been defined as a misogynist society where women's roles were heavily constricted<sup>21</sup>. Whilst what is true for us need not also have been true for them, nevertheless, we would like to apply this idea of gender clues to Byzantium, as it offers a methodology for challenging some of our own implicit assumptions about Byzantine gender codes. For example, in the mosaic of the empress Theodora from the apse of San Vitale in Ravenna, twenty-first century Byzantinists view the image unhesitatingly as that of a female. If, however, we pause for long enough to ask how we know it is female, then contradictions appear. First, the figure wears modified male dress<sup>22</sup>, second, it carries male attributes in the form of the communion chalice, third, it is located in a male space, in the apse of a church, fourth, it is a figure taller than those around it. In other words, although the figure is female (by the crown, the positioning opposite Justinian we know it "must" be Theodora), it is not unambiguously feminine, but bears some masculine characteristics, suggesting a more fluid gendering of roles<sup>23</sup>. In the case of images of figures such as angels and young male saints, the reverse argument is apparent. Both bear indications of what we might see as feminine gender characteristics<sup>24</sup>. Images such as these raise issues about the way in which genders were defined in Byzantium and hint at a fluidity in the depiction of sex, a potential playing of gender roles, as, in a very different context, Judith Butler has suggested<sup>25</sup>.

In this context, the ambivalences about the depiction and description of Theodore Krateros raise interesting questions about the definition of men and masculinity in Byzantium. His facial hair and his actions – he is astride a horse and holds a spear – identify him as male, yet written sources identify him as a eunuch. It begs the question: what sex were eunuchs in Byzantium? Kathryn Ringrose, in particular, has engaged with the notion of Byzantine eunuchs as a third sex. She suggests that secular and ecclesiastical views differed on this point. The secular perception was that eunuchs did indeed form a distinct third sex, whilst the ecclesiastical view 'undermined the distinct engendering of eunuchs', and asserted that 'eunuchs are neither a third sex nor a third gender; they are simply men'<sup>26</sup>. In this context, it is perhaps unsurprising to find a eunuch looking like a man. Is he perhaps given masculine traits and gender clues because the action he is performing is such a masculine action, a masculine virtue?

<sup>20</sup> See M. THOMPSON – W. MCKELLEN, *Gender: an ethnomethodology*. London 1972. Our thanks to Julia Stevenson for this reference.

<sup>21</sup> See, from an increasing literature, the groundwork of A. LAIOU, *The role of women in Byzantine society*. *JÖB* 31/1 (1981) 233–60, and EADEM, *Addendum to the report on the role of women in Byzantine society*. *JÖB* 32/1 (1982) 98–103; J. HERRIN, *In search of Byzantine women*, in: *Images of women in antiquity*, eds. A. CAMERON – A. KUERT. London 1983, 167–89; C. GALATARIOU, *Holy women and witches: aspects of Byzantine conceptions of gender*. *BMGS* 9 (1984/5) 55–96; L. GARLAND, *The life and ideology of Byzantine women*. *Byz* 58 (1988) 361–93.

<sup>22</sup> Our thanks to Hero GRANGER-TAYLOR who pointed this out to us.

<sup>23</sup> For a discussion of why this might be the case and the ambiguous gender definition of empresses, see L. JAMES, *Empresses and power in early Byzantium*. London 2001.

<sup>24</sup> See the analysis of H. MAGUIRE, *The icons of their bodies. Saints and their images in Byzantium*. Princeton 1996.

<sup>25</sup> J. BUTLER, *Gender trouble*. New York 1990.

<sup>26</sup> See K. RINGROSE, *Living in the shadows: eunuchs and gender in Byzantium*, in: *Third sex, third gender*, ed. G. HERDT. New York 1994, 85–109 and 507–18, and EADEM, *Passing the test of sanctity: denial of sexuality and involuntary castration*, in: *Desire and Denial* (as n. 3), 123–38. Also on eunuchs, see the important work of S. TOUGHER, *Byzantine Eunuchs: An Overview*, with special reference to their creation and origin, in: *Women, men and eunuchs* (as n. 5), 168–84.

In this context of beards marking men and lack of beards marking out eunuchs, even the image of Leo in the *Leo Bible* presents some problems. It contrasts with the image on the second frontispiece, fol. 3, which shows a standing St Nicholas with two crouching figures at his feet. From the accompanying inscription, these are identified as the abbot Makarios on Nicholas' right, and Constantine, the *protospatharios* and brother of Leo, founder of the monastery, on the other side. Despite his title of *protospatharios*, which was one usually held by eunuchs, Constantine, it is argued is not a eunuch, because he has a full beard<sup>27</sup>. In this instance, the argument becomes a trifle self-serving; if one figure with eunuch titles is a eunuch because beardless and the other with eunuch titles is not because he has a beard, the foundations for this premise need some deeper examination. As the example of Constantine shows, a job-title is not sufficient in itself to prove that someone was a eunuch, and as the example of Theodore Krateros shows, beards do not necessarily make "real men".

The portrayal of Krateros is not unique in the *Madrid Skylitzes*. Other figures we know from written texts to have been eunuchs are shown here with beards. A depiction of John the Orphanotrophos being blinded together with his uncle Michael V (fol. 221) shows a eunuch with a beard. The eunuch Stephen Pergamos (fol. 224<sup>v</sup>b) bringing back the head of Maniakes to the emperor Constantine Monomachos is bearded. There are also several depictions of patriarch Ignatios, bearded throughout (fol. 76, for example). In this instance, a different set of criteria are apparent. All patriarchs in the manuscript are shown bearded, suggesting that, in this case, beards form a part of the visual code for depicting patriarchs, and that the primary reference for Ignatios in this example is for his status as patriarch, not as eunuch. In contrast, in Hagia Sophia, patriarch Ignatios was depicted as beardless because here, this was an important visual sign to identify him individually in the company of other depictions of patriarchs and church fathers.

In fact, there are no visual signs in the *Madrid Skylitzes* that tell the viewer that a certain figure was a eunuch. In this manuscript, eunuchs look like any other man. This can be no clearer when we consider the case of patriarch Methodios, mentioned earlier. In fol. 66b (fig. 4) in the Madrid manuscript, Methodios is depicted exposing his mutilated genitalia to prove his incapability of having seduced a woman. The patriarch is bearded, but this is perhaps not the most important point that this image and indeed the story makes. Methodios was forced to demonstrate that he was a eunuch in the only certain way: by exposing his withered parts<sup>28</sup>. If the entire judicial and ecclesiastical establishment in Constantinople could not tell that he was a eunuch from his face alone, perhaps we should not rely on this method without more positive evidence.

Indeed, to return to Ringrose's distinctions between the secular definition of eunuchs as a distinct third sex, and the ecclesiastical view that eunuchs were "simply men", what we see is that in a religious context, Leo and Ignatios are beardless and thus distinct; in a secular context, Krateros and Ignatios are bearded. So how does one identify a eunuch when there is such ambivalence, when even at the time, the only certain means was to get the individual to reveal his genitalia? It was not only identifying men which presented problems. Byzantium was a society where women transvestite saints were accused of fathering children and virgins could give birth<sup>29</sup>. We find examples of women mistaken for men or for eunuchs, of eunuchs mistaken for men, but, significantly, never of men mistaken for women or for eunuchs.

The problem here is that it is not clear what makes the Man on the Street recognisable as a man rather than a eunuch or a woman. It is not clear what characteristics define "masculine" and "feminine" in Byzantium: "men" and "women" are easier labels. Rigid distinctions between men and women – and eunuchs – are actually fluid, though with the proviso that "man" is the norm. Men, women and eunuchs all appear to us set against the ideal stereotype labelled "man". It is possible to identify men who act like men and those who did not, women who acted like women and women who "became like men". Where male and female might be biologically determined, identity can be seen as fabricated rather than essential; each physical body can be the site for a number of different gender roles or codes. A female visionary may have powers over a lay-

<sup>27</sup> See SPATHARAKIS, Portrait 11.

<sup>28</sup> Judith Herrin suggested in this instance that Methodios was depicted as bearded since he became a eunuch in later life and through an accident rather than by castration in childhood or youth, and so this was an accurate depiction of his bodily characteristics. However, such a subtle interpretation on the part of the artist stands in contradiction to the main evidence in the *Madrid Skylitzes* that men are generally depicted with beards whether they were eunuchs or not.

<sup>29</sup> See for example, J. ANSON, The female transvestite in early monasticism: the origin and development of a motif. *Viator* 5 (1974) 1–32.

man that as a nun she does not possess in relation to her father-confessor; an imperial woman can be both powerful and powerless, depending upon the role she plays and the men to whom she relates<sup>30</sup>. Similarly, Theodore Krateros is a eunuch but in the story told and depicted in *Skylitzes*, his actions are those of an heroic defender of Byzantium, outmatching the barbarian Arab. Riding a horse and wielding a spear successfully, he is a hero and, judging from *Digenis Akrites*, heroes in Byzantium were always real men. In this way, his beard marks him as possessing the ultimate qualities of manliness.

Therefore, a beard may be a definition of manliness, rather than a sign of “a man”. To conclude, we want to look, briefly, at what such “manliness” might have meant in Byzantium. *Andreia* is one term, which appears regularly, generally translated as “manly” or “manly spirit”. Charles Barber has indicated how the image of emperor Basil II in the *Psalter of Basil* (Cod. Marc. Gr. 2, 17, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>) is a very male image: the warrior emperor surrounded by warrior saints, with grovelling men below and Christ above, with crown and spear supported by angels<sup>31</sup>. This is, perhaps, the very image of a man demonstrating the attributes of courage. We can link this with Michael Psellos’ account of Basil, in which he describes how Basil changed from leading a dissolute life, to becoming a man of great energy, rejecting all that was effeminate (*to abron*), and developing a fixity of purpose. Elsewhere, Psellos uses *andreia* as a way of measuring imperial performance. Constantine IX lacked the *andreia* of Alexander, the two Caesars, Pyrrhus and other warriors, but he had other qualities and although Psellos cannot cite Constantine’s bravery in battle, he uses the example of that emperor riding through the streets of Constantinople whilst in mortal pain from his illness, as an example of *andreia*<sup>32</sup>. Women demonstrating bravery are naturally masculine<sup>33</sup>. Crudely, *andreia*, the quality of manliness that distinguished a man from a woman, the quality that the man in the street, but not his wife, possessed, simply by existing as male, appears to relate to courage and, specifically, to a courage linked to warfare which, of course, was something Byzantine ideology absolutely barred women from. It is perhaps in this context we should consider beards and beardlessness and so find it less surprising that Theodore Krateros, demonstrating manliness, is shown bearded, as a “real” man.

A final twist, however, is provided by a lamp or perfume burner in the shape of a domed building in the Treasury of San Marco, dated to the twelfth century, and possibly southern Italian. On the left door of the building, a beardless figure is pictured, wearing a helmet, short tunic, breastplate and cloak, and holding a spear and shield. The figure is labelled ANΔPIAA, translated by the Catalogue as “courage”<sup>34</sup>. On the right door, a figure in tunic and long skirt, touching its forehead with its right index finger, is labelled ΗΦΟΝΕCIC, translated as “intelligence”. This is, clearly, a female figure but the gender of ANΔPIAA is less clear: as a personification of a feminine noun, ἀνδρεία, the figure should be female and is beardless, and possibly long-haired, yet appears to have no breasts and is armoured. Is this a female personification of that most male of qualities, ἀνδρεία, or is it a beardless man depicting courage?<sup>35</sup> Whatever the answer, it underlines something of the apparent ambiguities in the use of gender codes in Byzantium.

The concept of “the Man in the Street” carries many inherent problems. Class, religion, ethnic origin also have their own codes for identity which are only gradually being unpacked. The qualities of the generic Byzantine and how s/he was depicted are still unclear, as are the Byzantines’ own definitions of “masculine” and “feminine”. What we seem to have are images of men and women which share elements both of the generic and of the specific; the Man in the Street remains elusive.

<sup>30</sup> See VINSON, Gender and politics, esp. 487–90, for this sort of shifting of gender roles and codes in literature.

<sup>31</sup> BARBER, Homo byzantinus?

<sup>32</sup> Michael Psellos, *Chronographia*, ed. E. RENAULD, II. Paris, 1926–1928 (repr. 1967) vi, 129–30.

<sup>33</sup> As is the case with Maximo the Amazon in *Digenis Akrites*.

<sup>34</sup> The Treasury of San Marco Venice. Exhibition Catalogue. Milan 1984, Cat.No. 33, pp. 237–43.

<sup>35</sup> On these themes, see further, E. STAFFORD, Worshipping virtues. Personifications and the divine in ancient Greece. Swansea 2000.



HANS BUCHWALD

## Byzantine Town Planning – Does it Exist?

(with plates 8–21)

For Eduard Sekler

There are many equally valid, parallel approaches to the study of Byzantine cities. My approach is that of a practicing town planner and an architectural historian. Town planning today is concerned with physical properties of cities such as their topography, circulation patterns, pedestrian spaces, buildings, and urban accents; however, town planning is, and probably always was, equally concerned with urban functions, with the creation of new urban forms, with urban meanings, and with adjustments, in the course of time, to new requirements. As in all town planning, the results of the present investigation need to be complemented by those of other disciplines, for instance, (in this case) historians, economists, sociologists, and archaeologists.

Hundreds of cities that existed in the Byzantine region are known by name, and at times by their archaeological or contemporary remains<sup>1</sup>. Generally, two distinct phases in the history of these Byzantine cities have been determined: the earlier period, which begins with the era of Constantine and, depending upon local circumstances, ends between the 5th and the 8<sup>th</sup> century, and the later period, which ends with the end of Byzantine occupation at each site<sup>2</sup>. The possibility of continuity between the two phases remains an open, much discussed question, and some observations concerning one phase may also be relevant to the other.

<sup>1</sup> For summaries, for instance, D. CLAUDE, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert*. Munich 1969, 2–11; A. H. M. JONES, *The Greek City from Alexander to Justinian*. Oxford 1939, 85–94.

<sup>2</sup> For overviews W. LIEBESCHUETZ, *The End of the Ancient City*. In: J. RICH (ed.), *The City in Late Antiquity*. London 1992, 1–49; IDEM, *Administration and Politics in the Cities of the Fifth to the Mid-seventh Century: 425–649*. In: *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 14: *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425–600*. Ed. by Av. CAMERON. Cambridge 2000, 207–37; IDEM, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman City*. Oxford 2001, *passim*; L. LAVAN, *The late antique city: a bibliographic essay*. In: L. LAVAN – W. BOWDEN (eds.), *Recent research in late-antique urbanism (Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series 42)*. Portsmouth, RI 2001, 9–26; M. MUNDELL MANGO, *Building and Architecture*. In: *The Cambridge ancient history*, vol. 14: *Late antiquity: empire and successors, A.D. 425–600*. Ed. by Av. CAMERON. Cambridge 2000, 112–33, 926–31; W. BRANDES, *Stadt. Byzantinisches Reich. LexMA VIII* (1997) 1–6; IDEM, *Die Städte Kleinasien im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert (BBA 56)*. Berlin 1989, 12–22 *et passim*; C. FOSS, *Urbanism, Byzantine. Dictionary of the Middle Ages 12* (1989) 304–7; IDEM, *Archaeology and the twenty cities of Byzantine Asia. AJA 81* (1977) 469–86; M. ANGOLD, *The Shaping of the Medieval Byzantine 'City'*. *BF 10* (1985) 1–37; C. MANGO, *Byzantine Architecture*. Engl. ed. revised, London 1986, 20–34; C. ROUECHÉ, *Asia Minor and Cyprus: The Cities. The City and Countryside. The End of the Civic Era*. In: *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 14: *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, A.D. 425–600*. Ed. by Av. CAMERON. Cambridge 2000, 578–87; G.P. BROGIOLO – B. WARD-PERKINS, *The Idea and Ideal of the Town between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (The Transformation of the Roman World 4)*. Leiden 1999; K. M. HATTERSLEY-SMITH, *Byzantine Public Architecture between the Fourth and Early Eleventh Centuries AD, with Special Reference to the Towns of Byzantine Macedonia. Thessalonica 1996*, 234–6; D. PARRISH (ed.), *Urbanism in Western Asia Minor. New Studies on Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Hierapolis, Pergamon, Perge and Xanthos (Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series 45)*. Portsmouth, RI 2001; IDEM, *Introduction. The urban plan and its constituent elements*. In: PARRISH, *Urbanism* (see above) 9–41; M. WHITTOW, *Recent Research on the Late-antique City in Asia Minor: the Second Half of the 6<sup>th</sup> c. Revisited*. In: LAVAN – BOWDEN, *Urbanism* (see above) 137–53; J.-M. SPIESER, *La ville en Grèce du III<sup>e</sup> au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. In: *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin, Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome (Rome, 12–14 mai 1982) (Collections de l'École Française de Rome 77)*. Rome 1984, 315–38; E. A. IVISON, *Urban Renewal and Imperial Revival in Byzantium (730–1025)*. *BF 26* (2000) 1–46; B. WARD-PERKINS, *Urban Continuity?* In: *Towns in Transition, Urban Evolution in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, eds. N. CHRISTIE – S. T. LOSEBY. Aldershot 1996, 4–17; A. WALMSLEY, *Byzantine Palestine and Arabia: Urban Prosperity in Late Antiquity*. In: *Towns in Transition, Urban Evolution in Late antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, eds. N. CHRISTIE – S. T. LOSEBY. Aldershot 1996, 126–58; J.-P. SODINI, *La contribution de l'archéologie à la connaissance du monde byzantin (IV<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. *DOP 47* (1993) 139–84, 144–50; A. KRISIS, *Greek Town Building*. Athens 1965, 113–29, 142–66; C. BOURAS, *City and Village: Urban Design and Architecture*. In: *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Wien 1981 (= JÖB 31/2 [1981])* 611–53, 615f.; J. RICH, *The City in Late Antiquity*. London 1992; K.-P. MATSCHKE, *Die byzantinische Stadt*

Since examples range from the fourth century to the fifteenth, and from Spain to the Middle East, and since each city differs topographically and historically, diversity is perhaps the single most striking characteristic of Byzantine cities. Thus few, if any, generally valid conclusions concerning Byzantine cities may be drawn from the available evidence: most observations concerning one city, or one group of cities, may be contradicted by evidence from other, equally valid examples. Therefore, I will provide a collage of observations, rather than a summary of the evidence of town planning in the Byzantine realm. Many *other* observations concerning town planning are equally relevant.

## THE EARLIER PERIOD

### IMITATION IN TOWN PLANNING

Imitation is a tool that was used repeatedly in the planning of Byzantine cities. The forums of Constantinople provide the most prominent examples, since they were probably created, at least in part, in imitation of the forums of Rome (pl. 18, fig. 1)<sup>3</sup>. The Forum of Constantine, for instance, may have been intended to contribute to the identification of "New Rome" with "old" Rome by designing it with circular features that remind of the largest and most magnificent of the Roman forums, that of Trajan<sup>4</sup>. The political intention apparently behind the design of Trajan's Forum in Rome appears also to have been imitated in the Forum of Constantine: both were built to glorify the emperors responsible for their construction<sup>5</sup>. Similar colonnaded urban spaces with circular or oval floor plans were constructed in Syrian cities, for instance, at Antioch, Damascus, Philippopolis and Gerasa; while some of these may also have been modelled upon the Forum of Trajan, others may be the result of an "echo effect" of local imitations. Later examples of similar circular urban spaces, for instance, at Caričin Grad, on the other hand, are more likely to have been modelled upon the Forum of Constantine<sup>6</sup>.

In a closely related development, honorific columns were erected as focal points in a number of locations in Constantinople, apparently modelled upon those that stood in the Roman Forum (pl. 12, fig 2, pl. 13, fig 1). For instance, the monumental column in the center of the Forum Tauri, laid out under Theodosius I, was designed using spiral decoration in imitation of that employed in the columns of Trajan and Marcus

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im Rahmen der allgemeinen Stadtentwicklung. Referate und Diskussion der byzantinischen Fachkonferenz in Leipzig, 9. bis 11. Januar 1990. Leipzig 1995; A. KAZHDAN, *Derenia i gorod v Vizantii IX–X vv.* Moscow 1969; IDEM, *Vizantinskie goroda v VII – IX vekach.* *SovArch* 21 (1954) 164–83; E. KIRSTEN, *Die byzantinische Stadt.* In: *Berichte zum XI. Int. Byzantinistenkongress V/3*, München 1958. Munich 1958, 1–48, 1–32 (notes); G. OSTROGORSKY, *Byzantine Cities in the Middle Ages.* *DOP* 13 (1959) 47–66.

<sup>3</sup> MANGO, *Architecture* (see n. 2), 24–34, for an overview of town planning in Constantinople from the fourth century to the sixth, and particularly 28 for an emphasis on elements which tied the new capital to Rome; IDEM, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (*TM, Monographies* 2, 1985) 23–36; F. A. BAUER, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike.* Mainz 2000, *passim*, for a detailed comparison of the forums of Rome and Constantinople, including furnishings, functions and meanings; M. RESTLE, *Konstantinopel.* *RbK* 4 (1990) 366–738, 399–403, with a comparison between the Forum Tauri and Trajan's Forum; G. DAGRON, *Constantinople. Mégapoles méditerranéennes. Géographie urbaine rétrospective.* Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome et la Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l'homme, Rome, 8–11 Mai 1996. Paris 2000, 376–97.

<sup>4</sup> Even though the form of Constantine's Forum was not the same as that of Trajan, it was probably sufficiently similar to suggest a close parallel between the two spaces. The floor plan of Trajan's Forum is rectangular, with large circular additions on two opposite sides; the floor plan of the Forum of Augustus in Rome had similar circular additions, but the circular features of Trajan's Forum are architecturally more prominent. For the Roman Forums, G. LUGLI, *Itinerario di Roma Antica.* Milan 1970, 329–69; F. COARELLI, *Rom, ein archäologischer Führer.* Freiburg–Basel–Vienna 1975, 112–33; J. B. WARD-PERKINS, *Architettura Romana.* Milan 1979, 40–50, *et passim*; IDEM, *Cities of Ancient Greece and Italy: Planning in Classical Antiquity.* New York 1974, 40–42; for the Constantinopolitan Forums, MANGO, *Architecture* (see n. 2), 28–31; IDEM, *Constantinople* (see n. 3), 25f.; RESTLE, *Konstantinopel* (see n. 3), 399–403; W. MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls.* Tübingen 1977, 255–57; BAUER, *Stadt* (see n. 3), *passim*, for the fora in both cities.

<sup>5</sup> BAUER, *Stadt* (see n. 3), *passim*, emphasizes the political manifestations.

<sup>6</sup> CLAUDE, *Stadt* (see n. 1), 63–65, with the sources, more detailed descriptions, and a discussion of differences in function; WARD-PERKINS, *Planning* (see n. 4), 41; for a summary of town planning at Gerasa see, MANGO, *Architecture* (see n. 2), 20–3; A. J. WHARTON, *Refiguring the Post Classical City, Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna.* Cambridge 1995, 64–8; for the circular forum at Caričin Grad, see p. 59 and notes 9 and 10 below.

Aurelius in Rome. While some honorific columns in Constantinople, like those of Rome, supported statues of pagan deities, emperors, or notables, on other columns the statues were replaced by crosses<sup>7</sup>.

The use of honorific columns in Byzantine cities may be visualized best today in the Piazzetta of Venice, where two monumental columns that are well preserved stand at the south side of the square, near the Grand Canal (pl. 13, fig. 2). The columns were erected under the direction of Niccolo dei Barattieri after 1170. One column supports a representation of the lion of Saint Mark, the patron saint of Venice, and the other (of 1329) carries a figure of Saint Theodore, who was the patron saint of Venice at a time before the remains of Saint Mark were brought to the city in the ninth century. The columns and their carved images served as the symbolic and visual focal points of an urban space that may be thought of as the Forum of Venice. It was here, on the molo next to the columns, where Venetian and foreign dignitaries disembarked on their way to the political and religious heart of the city, including the Doge's Palace and the Church of San Marco. While the symbolism of the columns on the Piazzetta may be understood in the context of civic, and other, medieval columns in Italy and Western Europe<sup>8</sup>, their great size and striking appearance should probably be seen in terms of the "echo effect:" as was the case with the Church of San Marco, the models were probably to be found in Constantinople.

Caričin Grad, identified as Justiniana Prima, was one of the few towns that was newly designed and built during the Early Byzantine period (pl. 19a, fig. 1)<sup>9</sup>. It was created by Emperor Justinian to honor his own birthplace. Therefore, even though the town is small in size and remote in location, its forms probably reflect the Imperial "ideal city plan" of the time. The main, central portion of the town is roughly rectangular and was surrounded by walls. While the steep mountain top site required adjustments, the walls and other features are oriented approximately with the points of the compass. Two broad, straight, colonnaded streets that cross almost at right angles dominate the layout of the town center; they lead to fortified gates, that are partially preserved, in the defensive walls. Clearly, the major features of the town layout were designed in imitation of the military camp plan, including the *cardus* and *decumanus*, that was used repeatedly in town planning

<sup>7</sup> M. JORDAN-RUWE, *Das Säulenmonument (Asia Minor Studien 19)*. Bonn 1995, for a detailed account of examples in Antiquity and the Early Byzantine period, including those cited here; W. HAFTMANN, *Das italienische Säulenmonument*. Leipzig 1939, *passim* for a general overview of honorific columns, including the medieval and Renaissance periods; *ibidem*, 5–27 for examples from Classical Greece, 27–31 for Imperial Roman examples, 40–61 for Byzantine examples; also COARELLI, *Rom* (see n. 4), 116–127, for the Roman examples; for the Constantinopolitan examples also, MANGO, *Architecture* (see n. 2), 28; IDEM, *Constantine's Column*. In: C. MANGO, *Studies on Constantinople*. Aldershot 1993, III:1–6; IDEM, *The Columns of Justinian and his Successors*. In: C. MANGO, *Studies on Constantinople*. Aldershot 1993, X:1–20; U. PESCHLOW, *Eine wiedergewonnene byzantinische Ehrensäule in Istanbul*. In: O. FELD – U. PESCHLOW (eds.), *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet. (Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 10)*. Mainz 1986, 21–33; MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon* (see n. 4), 52–5, 248–67; R. BRUN, *The Column of Theodosius II at Hebdomon and a Recently (1988) Discovered Monumental Column in Constantinople, at the Site of the Church of the Holy Apostles. Bulletin Svenska Kommitten för Byzantiniska Studier 7* (1989) 21–8; BAUER, *Stadt* (see n. 3), 391–94 for a summary, and 350–62, for the observation that crosses on columns were not common before the second half of the sixth century, and a rejection of reports that they were first erected under Constantine; for further examples in other provincial Roman cities, W. JOBST, *Ein spätantikes Säulenmonument in Ephesos. IstMitt 39* (1989) 245–55, 252f.; CLAUDE, *Stadt* (see n. 1), 64.

<sup>8</sup> Tradition plausibly maintains that the huge monolithic red porphyry columns were spoils brought from the "East"; O. DEMUS, *The Church of San Marco in Venice*. Washington, D.C. 1960, 117f., including an analysis of the twelfth century sculpture of Venetian trades and professions on the column bases; M. GRUNDY, *Venice, an Anthology Guide*. London 1971, 19f.; G. RÖSCH, *Venedig, Geschichte einer Seerepublik*. Stuttgart 2000, 42–64 for the Venetian historical background, including relations with the Byzantine empire; HAFTMANN, *Säulenmonument* (n. 7), 119–27 for the Piazzetta columns in the context of Western medieval columns of justice, of victory, and of civic pride, and 84–86 for the representation, in the mosaics of San Marco, of a column bearing a figure of a pagan god; D. HOWARD, *The Architectural History of Venice*. London 1980, 80, for the medieval buildings next to the Piazzetta, including a Palace of Justice and a Communal Palace, before the fourteenth century construction of the present Doge's Palace; W. DORIGO, *Venezia Romanica*. Venice 2003, 285–98 for the Piazzetta and adjacent buildings and spaces in the 11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries; public executions were held next to the columns at one time.

<sup>9</sup> C. VASIĆ, *Le plan d'urbanisme de la ville haute: essai de Reconstitution*. In: Caričin Grad 2, *Le Quartier Sud-ouest de la Ville Haute*, eds. B. BAVANT – V. KONDIC – J.-M. SPIESER – C. VASIĆ. Belgrade – Rome 1990, 307–15; MANGO, *Architecture* (see n. 2), 24; B. BAVANT, *La ville dans le nord de l'Illyricum (Pannonie, Mésie I, Dacie et Dardanie)*. In: *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin*, Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome (Rome, 12–14 mai 1982) (*Collections de l'École Française de Rome 77*). Rome 1984, 245–87, 272–85.



during the Roman period in many parts of the Empire<sup>10</sup>. At Caričin Grad the grades outside the west, north and east city gates are so steep that normal roads could hardly have continued from the town in those directions, demonstrating that the Roman model was adhered to even where it served its function inadequately<sup>11</sup>. We have observed above, that the round, forum-like open space at the crossing of the two main streets of Čaričin Grad probably also reflects imitation. Thus, the ideal city of the Justinianic period appears to reflect a strong emphasis upon historic Imperial Roman roots.

A different aspect of imitation may be observed at Ephesos. Here the two major churches of the city, which ranked among the prime churches of the Empire, were apparently modelled upon the two major churches of Constantinople. The Church of Saint John, with its domed cruciform floor plan, was built in imitation of the Church of the Holy Apostles, and the Church of the Virgin, after its reconstruction as a domed basilica, was at least in this important respect similar to Saint Sophia<sup>12</sup>. Both imitations appear to underline the fact that Ephesos was the largest city of Asia Minor, the residence of the Governor of Asia, and one of the major cities of the Empire<sup>13</sup>: because of the similarities in the forms of the two major churches of both cities, Ephesos (probably more than any other city) became comparable with the capital. Justinian's patronage of the construction of Saint John's implies that the comparison between Ephesos and Constantinople, if not necessarily initiated by the Emperor, at least met with his approval. In the same spirit the erection on the main street of Ephesos of four monumental columns apparently bearing statues of the four Evangelists was probably carried out in imitation of the honorific columns of the capital, and could thus have served to underscore still further the close relationship between the two cities<sup>14</sup>.

#### LIMITED CHRISTIAN IMPACT ON TOWN PLANNING

An observation that may seem obvious, but that has received insufficient attention in this context is that both major churches of Rome are located at the edge of the city. The Cathedral of Rome, Saint John's of the Lateran, was constructed under Constantine just inside the walls, about one mile from the Forum, and Saint Peter's was built, almost twice as far from the Forum, outside the walls<sup>15</sup>. None of the major churches of Rome was built in the center of the city: in the Early Byzantine period an inhabitant walking in or near the Roman Forum would have encountered no monumental Christian building. While there are good explanations for the locations of Saint John's and Saint Peter's, the center of Rome was not unique in its lack of Christian impact during this period. For instance, a very large basilica, probably the Constantinian Cathedral of Ostia, was recently found by German excavators just inside the walls of the city, away from the city center<sup>16</sup>, and

<sup>10</sup> The similarity to earlier models is generally accepted; for instance, VASIĆ, Plan, 307; for earlier town plans based upon the military camp plan, WARD-PERKINS, Planning (see n. 4), 27–30; for other cities of the period with similar street plans, HATTERSLEY-SMITH, Architecture (see n. 2), *passim*; WHARTON, City (see n. 6), *passim*.

<sup>11</sup> The grade at the west gate, for instance, slopes 1:5; Caričin Grad I, Pl. 2 for the topography.

<sup>12</sup> See Notes 31, 33 below; H. BUCHWALD, Saint Sophia, Turning Point in the Development of Byzantine Architecture? In: V. HOFMANN (ed.), Die Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. Akten des Berner Kolloquiums vom 21. Oktober 1994 (*Neue Berner Schriften zur Kunst* 3). Bern 1997, 29–48, 43–45; IDEM, Retrofit – Hallmark of Byzantine Architecture? In: H. BUCHWALD, Form, Style and Meaning in Byzantine Church Architecture. Aldershot 1999, VIII:1–22, 17.

<sup>13</sup> C. FOSS, Ephesus after Antiquity: a Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City. Cambridge 1979, 13–45.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 63 and note 30 below.

<sup>15</sup> P. TESTINI – G. CANTINO WATAGHIN – E. L. PANI ERMINI, La cattedrale in Italia. In: Actes du XIe Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne, 1986, I–III (*Studi di Antichità Cristiana* 41 = *Collection de l'École Française de Rome* 123). Rome 1989, 5–231, 14–18; L. REEKMANS, L'implantation monumentale chrétienne dans le paysage urbain de Rome de 300 à 850. In: Actes du XIe Congrès International d'Archéologie Chrétienne, 1986, I–III (*Studi di Antichità Cristiana* 41 = *Collection de l'École Française de Rome* 123). Rome 1989, 861–915; R. KRAUTHEIMER, Rome, Profile of a City, 312–1308. Princeton 1980, 18–28; for early churches in the Roman Forum, which were modest in size, K. GULOWSEN, The Cult of the Forty Martyrs on the Forum Romanum. *Acta Hyperborea* 8 (2001) 235–48.

<sup>16</sup> F. A. BAUER – M. HEINZELMANN – A. MARTIN – A. SCHAUB, Untersuchungen im Bereich der konstantinischen Bischofskirche Ostias. *RM* 106 (1999) 289–341; TESTINI Cattedrale (see n. 15), 36–7 and *passim*, for a summary of other cathedrals in Italy which were located near the city walls rather than near the city center; A. WOLFF, Zur Lage der frühchristlichen Kirche in der Stadt. In: Akten des XII. internationalen Kongresses für christliche Archäologie, Bonn 1991 (SAC 52. *JbAC* Erg.-Bd. 20,2 [1996]) 1295–1308 with an attempt to explain the locations of some Christian centers of worship during the early period just inside the city walls, concentrating upon examples in the West.

the Cathedral of Cologne was also located next to the defensive city walls<sup>17</sup>. Indeed, Kara Hattersley-Smith points out that in Athens, Corinth and other towns of the region the Christian centers of construction and worship were not located near the city centers until the end of the fourth century, or even until the late fifth<sup>18</sup>. The decentralized locations of the major churches of Rome therefore appear to fit into an important, if not generally applicable, pattern.

A lack of strong Christian impact on the appearance of towns may also be observed where monumental buildings of Antiquity were transformed into important churches. For instance, the Parthenon had been the ceremonial and visual focal point of Athens and the surrounding countryside for more than eight centuries when it was transformed into the cathedral of the city<sup>19</sup>. On the exterior, the only noticeable change was the addition of an apse at the east end of the Parthenon, within the peristasis, a change that could not be seen from most vantage points of the city (pl. 14, fig. 1). Therefore, in terms of town planning, the most important and most prominent church of Athens could not readily be identified as a Christian building.

Athens, because of its history, may be a special case, but it is not unique. For instance, at Pergamum the Kizil Avli, a Roman temple of the Egyptian gods, was also transformed into a Christian basilica (pl. 14, fig. 2). While it is not as prominently situated as the Parthenon, because the Kizil Avli stands on an important site between the upper and lower cities, and because of its great size, it must have been a striking feature in the cityscape. The exterior walls of the Kizil Avli stand almost to their original heights and, except for the east facade, show no signs of changes that may have been made when the building was converted into a church. The Kizil Avli therefore appears to be another example of a major church, by far the largest known at Pergamum, which, within the urban fabric of the town, was not readily identifiable as a Christian building<sup>20</sup>.

Ephesos is also a case in point. It provides an informative example of a city of this period, not only because it was one of the major cities of the Empire, but also because it does not lie underneath modern buildings, making extensive excavation possible (pl. 19b, fig. 2)<sup>21</sup>. Its streets are laid out on the standard Greco-Roman grid pattern which originated, in the Greek world, with Hippodamos of Miletos in the sixth century B.C.; the

<sup>17</sup> N. GAUTHIER, Les premières cathédrales de Cologne bilan de 45 années de fouilles. In: *Orbis romanus christianusque ab Diocletiani aetate usque as Heraclium*. Travaux sur l'Antiquité Tardive rassemblés autour des recherches de Noël DUVAL. Paris 1995, 99–128, figs. 1a–e.

<sup>18</sup> HATTERSLEY-SMITH, Architecture (see n. 2), 169, 205, 236; CLAUDE, Stadt (see n.1), 89–96 for an overview of church locations in cities of the period, and 36f. for cities in Africa with churches, including cathedrals, outside the walls.

<sup>19</sup> C. MANGO, The Conversion of the Parthenon into a Church; The Tübingen Theosophy. *DChAE* 18 (1995) 201–3; F. W. DEICHMANN, Die Basilika im Parthenon. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 63–64 (1938–39) 127–39; BUCHWALD, Retrofit (see n. 12), 2–9, 20–2; B. WARD-PERKINS, Re-using the architectural legacy of the past: entre ideologie et pragmatisme. In: BROGIOLO and WARD-PERKINS, Town (see n. 2), 225–44, 233–40, for a discussion of the conversion date and circumstances; P. CASTREN, Paganism and Christianity in Athens and Vicinity during the Fourth to Sixth Centuries A.D. In: BROGIOLO – WARD-PERKINS, Town (see n. 2), 211–23, particularly 219–20; F. W. DEICHMANN, Christianisierung. *RAC* 2 (1954) 1228–41 for temple conversions generally; IDEM, Frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümern. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 54 (1939) 105–36, for further examples of similar conversions; also G. DAGRON, Le christianisme dans la ville byzantine. *DOP* 31 (1977) 3–25, 4f.; ROUECHÉ, Cities (see n. 2), 579; J.-M. SPIESER, La christianisation des sanctuaires païens en Grèce. In: *Neue Forschungen in griechischen Heiligtümern*. Tübingen 1976, 309–20.

<sup>20</sup> O. DEUBNER, Das Heiligtum der alexandrinischen Gottheiten in Pergamon genannt “Kizil Avli” (“Rote Halle”). *IstMitt* 27/28 (1977–78) 227–50, 238f. for the original marble facade sheathing, 241 for the changes to the east facade, 249f, pls. 58–60, 62, 65 for the conversion, and for the poetically expressed observation: “Und doch steckte sie wie eine Uhr im Futteral, geborgen und verborgen in dem gewaltigen Gehäuse des heidnischen Tempels”; K. RHEIDT, Die Stadtgrabung, Teil 2, Die byzantinische Wohnstadt (*Altertümer von Pergamon* XV/2). Berlin–New York 1991, 193f., 226–9. The church may well have been the Cathedral of the city.

<sup>21</sup> FOSS, Ephesos (see n. 13), 46–99 for a convenient overview of the material remains and their history, with references to the excavation reports and to earlier scholarship; IDEM, Twenty Cities, 472–75; MUNDELL MANGO, Building (see n. 2), 931f.; S. KARWIESE, Gross ist die Artemis von Ephesos. Vienna 1995, 126–42; P. SCHERRER, The city of Ephesos from the Roman period to Late Antiquity. In: *Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia. An interdisciplinary approach to its archaeology, religion, and culture*. Ed. H. KOESTER (*Harvard Theological Studies* 41). Valley Forge, Penn. 1994, 1–25; IDEM, The historical topography of Ephesos, in: PARRISH, Ephesos (see n. 2 above), 57–95 with an emphasis upon the period before Christianity became evident; H. HALFMANN, Städtebau und Bauherren im römischen Kleinasien. Ein Vergleich zwischen Pergamon und Ephesos. Tübingen 2001, *passim*, for the early Imperial Roman period; WHITTOW, City (see n. 2), 147–9.

straight streets of the grid are maintained even on very steep slopes<sup>22</sup>. The long, wide, elegant, colonnaded main street of the city, the Arcadiane, gave access from the harbor in the west to the heart of the city; it was rebuilt by Arcadius, but originated many centuries earlier, and is typical of prominent streets that date from the Imperial Roman period in numerous cities (pl. 15, fig. 1)<sup>23</sup>. The shorter, but also elegant, richly furnished colonnaded street called Embolos was probably the commercial center of the city; as an exception, it does not lie on the rectangular grid and it may have existed before the grid was introduced<sup>24</sup>. Large, rectangular, colonnaded open spaces that are laid out within the grid plan provide spacial accents and activity centers: the Lower Agora, near the center of the city, was used primarily for commerce, and the Upper Agora, on higher ground at the southeast end of the Embolos, was the civic center; a very large Palaestra was located next to the Arcadiane<sup>25</sup>.

The appearance of Ephesos was dominated by a number of monumental buildings, all of which were oriented with the grid plan of the streets. The large theater is located on the steep lower slopes of the Panayir Dag, bordering the center of the city on the east. Six baths and gymnasiums have been excavated, two of them very large and near the city center. Imposing temples are located near each agora, and a large temple complex of Zeus Olympus occupies a low hill north of the Palaestra and the Harbor Bath. A Prytaneum and Senate House are located next to the Upper Agora. Usually small shops line the major streets and the perimeters of the agoras. Gates, monuments, statues, and fountains create accents and points of interest<sup>26</sup>.

The residential quarters of Ephesos, which were excavated near the Embolos, are tightly packed with little or no space between the buildings; most of their walls stand parallel with the streets, producing an extensive orthogonal pattern of dwellings. At least some houses had more than one floor, and they were usually terraced, because they were constructed on steep slopes. Daylight entered the houses primarily through small or medium sized courtyards, some with peristyles<sup>27</sup>.

Most major buildings and other features of Ephesos outlined above were constructed before our period<sup>28</sup>. However, from the fourth to the sixth century there were also numerous building projects, for instance, a new Governor's Palace, the remodelling of the Arcadiane and Embolos, the reconstruction of the Harbor Bath, the conversion of the large Palaestra and Upper Agora into housing areas, and reconstructions or modifications of almost all of the known structures<sup>29</sup>. Most of these projects involved previously constructed facilities, and

<sup>22</sup> F. HUEBER, Zur städtebaulichen Entwicklung des hellenistisch-römischen Ephesos. *IstMitt* 47 (1997) 251–64; for the grid plans of early Byzantine cities, CLAUDE, Stadt (see n. 1), 41–54; S. AKTÜRE, Some Observations on the Use of 'Gridiron' Plan in Anatolian Cities. In: Çağlar boyunca anadolu'da yerleşim ve konut uluslararası sempozyumu, 5–7 Haziran 1996 (International Symposium on Settlement and Housing in Anatolia Through the Ages). Istanbul 1999, 31–48, with a general overview and further examples in Asia Minor; for contemporary and earlier examples, including the Hippodamian scheme, WARD-PERKINS, Planning (see n. 4), 14–7; P. GROSS – M. TORELLI, Storia dell'urbanistica 2, il mondo romano. Rome 1988, 127–426; R. MARTIN, L'urbanisme dans la Grèce antique. Paris 1974, 7–126, 153–85; KRIESIS, Building (see n. 2), 61–74; E. EGLI, Geschichte des Städtebaus. Stuttgart 1959, I 164–364.

<sup>23</sup> The street is 530 meters long and 11.5 meters wide, without its flanking colonnades. P. SCHNEIDER, Bauphasen der Arkadiane. In: 100 Jahre Österreichische Forschungen in Ephesos, Akten des Symposiums, Wien 1995 (*Öst. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschr.* 260). Vienna 1999, 467–78, traces previous constructions to the late first century or early second, A.D.; Foss, Ephesus (see n. 13), 56–9; for examples in other cities, WARD-PERKINS, Planning (see n. 4), 32; MUNDELL MANGO, Building (see n. 2), 932f.; CLAUDE, Stadt (see n. 1), 60–3.

<sup>24</sup> Foss, Ephesus (see n. 13), 65–74; H. THÜR, Die spätantike Bauphase der Kuretenstrasse. In: Efeso paleocristiana e bizantina – Frühchristliches Ephesos, eds. R. PILLINGER – O. KRESTEN – F. KRINZINGER – E. RUSSO (*Öst. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschr.* 282 = *Archäologische Forschungen* 3). Vienna 1999, 104–19; HUEBER, Ephesos (see n. 22), 264–69.

<sup>25</sup> Foss, Ephesus (see n. 13), 60, 63, 80–2; Foss, Urbanism (see n. 2), 305.

<sup>26</sup> Foss, Ephesus (see n. 13), 48–83.

<sup>27</sup> Foss, Ephesus (see n. 13), 74–7; F. KRINZINGER, Das Hanghaus 2 als archäologische Herausforderung (with English and Turkish translations). In: F. KRINZINGER (ed.), Ein Dach für Ephesos (*Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Sonderschriften* 34). Vienna 2000, 15–32 for an updated floor plan, description, new evidence, and a chronological summary indicating that Hanghaus 2 was destroyed by an earthquake in 262 AD and only partially rebuilt at a higher level.

<sup>28</sup> Foss, Ephesus (see n. 13), 48–83 for a summary and the available chronological information, with further references and sources.

<sup>29</sup> Foss, Ephesus (see n. 13), 48–83, 96–9; HUEBER, Ephesos (see n. 22), 260–9 stresses the damage caused by the earthquake of 358 and summarizes the changes that followed it; THÜR, Kuretenstrasse, 108–19 for changes to the Embolos and adjacent features; R. PILLINGER, Die christlichen Denkmäler von Ephesos. Eine Bestandsaufnahme als Rück- und Vorschau. *Mitteilungen zur Christlichen Archäologie* 2 (1996) 39–70, 39–53 for a summary of Christian objects, features and buildings in the city, with additional references.

they did not significantly change the appearance of the city center. The streets, the Lower Agora, the Theater, Stadium, and some of the baths were modified and rebuilt, but were still in use. As far as we know none of these projects was caused directly by the rise of Christianity.

Changes to the city center of Ephesos that may directly be related to increasing Christian impact are limited. To be sure, four columns probably bearing statues of the Evangelists were erected on the Arcadiane<sup>30</sup>. Worship at pagan temples was discontinued, and the temples were converted or used as quarries. However, the only church near the commercial heart of Ephesos was inside the converted cella of the Temple of Serapis and this could probably not be readily identified, on the exterior, as a Christian building. Even though several other churches existed within the walls<sup>31</sup>, the Church of the Virgin, which was the Cathedral, is the only major church *building* near the center of the city, and it may have been constructed as late as the sixth century<sup>32</sup>. Initially it failed to produce a strong visual impact within the cityscape because it was constructed into the pre-existing walls of the temple complex of Zeus Olympus, and because it was lower than the bath building in its vicinity. Only after it was reconstructed with a large dome over the center of its nave, perhaps in the sixth century, but perhaps as late as the eighth century, would the profile of the church have risen significantly above the roofs of the surrounding buildings<sup>33</sup>. The other major church of Ephesos, that of Saint John, was located far beyond the city walls near the Temple of Artemis, and therefore is of no direct concern in a review of town planning inside the city during this period<sup>34</sup>.

The reconstruction of the Church of Saint John on a domed cruciform plan, the reconstruction of the Church of the Virgin as a domed basilica, and the erection of the four pillars apparently bearing statues of the Evangelists, may each have been part of a concerted effort to upgrade the appearance of Ephesos in terms of its Christian image, an image which was apparently perceived to be inadequate. The well documented support by Justinian of the reconstruction of Saint John's, and the stylistic attribution of the four columns to the second quarter of the sixth century, imply that this concerted effort (if it was that) was undertaken during

<sup>30</sup> SCHNEIDER, Arkadiane (see n. 23), 468; F. W. DEICHMANN, Zur spätantiken Bauplastik von Ephesos. In: Mansel'e Amargan. Ankara 1974, 549–70, 568f. with a stylistic attribution to the second quarter of the sixth century; E. RUSSO, La scultura a Efeso in età paleocristiana e bizantina. Primi lineamenti. In: Efeso paleocristiana e bizantina – Frühchristliches Ephesos (see. n. 24), 26–53, 28–30 with a more detailed description and an attribution to shops working in Ephesos during the sixth century; JORDAN- RUWE, Säulenmonument (see n. 7), 181 and note 1048 for a rejection of the commonly accepted reconstruction of the columns as supports for statues of the Evangelists.

<sup>31</sup> FOSS, Ephesus (see n. 13), 64 *et passim*, for a summary of the temple conversions and for the other churches found at Ephesos, with further references.

<sup>32</sup> Neither the original basilica nor the later phases are reliably dated; FOSS, Ephesus (see n. 13), 51–5 for a summary and chronological attributions; F. KNOLL, Die Marienkirche in Ephesos (*Forschungen in Ephesos* IV/1). Vienna 1932, 27–62 for the excavation report; DEICHMANN, Bauplastik (see n. 30), 549–53, particularly 551, note 4 for a summary of previous datings and carefully considered arguments for a fourth century date; F. FASOLO, La Basilica del Concilio di Efeso. *Palladio* n.s. 5–6 (1956) 1–13, also proposes a fourth century date; S. KARWIESE, Erster vorläufiger Gesamtbericht über die Wiederaufnahme der archäologischen Untersuchung der Marienkirche in Ephesos. Vienna 1989, 17–21, 27–9, 40–6 proposes a date after 474 based upon numismatic and ceramic evidence, states that the dedication of the church to the Virgin was possible only after 511, and suggests that the council of 431 met elsewhere, or possibly in the Roman stoa into which the church was later inserted; IDEM, The Church of Mary and the Temple of Hadrian Olympius. In: Ephesos, Metropolis of Asia. An interdisciplinary approach to its archaeology, religion, and culture. Ed. H. KOESTER (= *Harvard Theological Studies* 41). Valley Forge, Penn. 1994, 311–9 proposes a date for the basilica not before 500, and states that the lateral church walls were erected as part of the south stoa of the Olympeion, which may have been constructed under Hadrian and was probably destroyed ca. 400; IDEM, Die Marienkirche und das dritte ökumenische Konzil. In: Efeso paleocristiana e bizantina – Frühchristliches Ephesos (see n. 24), 81–3 dates the construction of the church to the end of the fifth century or around 500; K.'s attribution makes the apsidal solution with integrated flanking chambers more readily explainable than the earlier dates assumed by other scholars, but it does not adequately address Deichmann's observations, and the archaeological evidence may be open to other interpretations; HUEBER, Ephesos (see n. 22), 261, rejects Karwiese's dating.

<sup>33</sup> See note 32 above; BUCHWALD, Saint Sophia (see n. 12), 43–5 for a summary of domed basilican churches with further references; IDEM, Retrofit (see n. 12), 9–17 for a more detailed account of the reconstruction of the Church of the Virgin, and of other similar churches, as domed basilicas; KARWIESE, Marienkirche, 84, proposes a date for the reconstruction as a domed basilica after the earthquake of 557.

<sup>34</sup> FOSS, Ephesus (see n. 13), 87–93; A. BAMMER, Die Kirche im Artemision von Ephesus. In: Efeso paleocristiana e bizantina – Frühchristliches Ephesos (see n. 24), 86–8 for the conversion of the temple into a church.



Justinian's reign, and perhaps that it was initiated by the Emperor and by Hypatius, the influential bishop of the city<sup>35</sup>.

The appearance of churches within the fabric of other buildings in town centers of the Early Byzantine period is difficult to visualize. Today, probably the best impression of a small but active urban center of the period is provided by the excavations at Ostia, where many buildings are relatively well preserved, or have been reconstructed (pl. 15, fig. 2)<sup>36</sup>. Even though most of the structures in Ostia were constructed before our period, as we have seen at Ephesos, earlier buildings, often somewhat modified, dominated at least some town centers in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries. At Ostia most buildings are laid out, as at Ephesos, with walls parallel to the grid plan of the streets. The buildings are well constructed and elegantly detailed, usually lining relatively narrow streets. They rise two, three, or four floors, providing a sense of dense urbanity. Open spaces are small and few, and are usually located either near the town center or within a building complex.

Only very few well preserved Early Byzantine churches stand today, within an urban setting comparable with that of Ostia. Examples that I have recorded include Santa Maria delle Grazie in Grado (pl. 16, fig. 1) and the Cathedral of Poreč. Next to and near both of these churches stand relatively recent buildings which, however, are similar in height, scale, and density to those of Ostia. Both examples suggest that at least some, and perhaps many medium sized basilican churches could hardly be seen, in the Early Byzantine period, except from their immediate vicinity.

#### STRONG CHRISTIAN IMPACT ON TOWN PLANNING

Strong Christian impact on the town planning of this period is usually limited to the construction of churches. An important example, for reasons noted above, is Caričin Grad, where, even though the excavated town is quite small in size, at least six churches were constructed during its short existence (pl. 19a, fig. 1)<sup>37</sup>. Inside the central portion of Caričin Grad an inhabitant would have been only a few steps away from the nearest church, and never more than about 150 meters. The Cathedral was by far the largest building excavated. A separately fortified acropolis at the western extension of the *decumanus* is largely taken up by the Cathedral and its adjunct facilities; in this raised position, if the fortification walls were not very high, the Cathedral must have dominated the view from many parts of the town and from the surrounding countryside. While Gerasa was much larger, it contained at least 12 churches within its walls, including a large cathedral complex at its center, and in Damascus 14 churches were relegated to Christian use when this city was occupied by the Arab forces<sup>38</sup>.

The striking impact of Christian buildings on some towns of the period is demonstrated well by the example of Philippi: two major Christian basilicas, an octagonal, probably domed church, and the Episcopal Palace were constructed in the center of the city. They were located and designed to be approached with ease and probably to be seen well from the large, central agora near which they were built, and from the Via Egnatia, which stretched through the town center and connected it with Constantinople and the Adriatic regions<sup>39</sup>. These buildings appear to have been constructed as Christian "showpieces", placed on display for the inhabitants of the town and for travellers passing through.

<sup>35</sup> FOSS, Ephesos (see n. 13), 44f., for Justinian's support of construction at Ephesos, and for Hypatius; the reconstruction of the Church of the Virgin as a domed basilica after 557 proposed by KARWIESE (note 33 above) would also be compatible with a Justinianic effort to upgrade the Christian image of the city.

<sup>36</sup> R. MEIGGS, Roman Ostia. Oxford 1969, 111–48, 235–62, 535–53 *et passim*; WARD-PERKINS, Architettura (see n. 4), 102–104; G. BECATTI, Case ostiensi del tardo impero. *Boll. d'Arte*, ser. 4, 33 (1948) 102–28.

<sup>37</sup> N. DUVAL, L'architecture religieuse de Tsaritchin Grad dans le cadre de l'Illyricum au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle. In: Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantine. Actes du colloque organisé par l'École Française de Rome (*Collection de l'École Française de Rome* 77). Rome 1984, 399–481; V. POPOVIĆ, La signification historique de l'architecture religieuse de Tsaritchin Grad. In: XXVI Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina, Ravenna 1979. Ravenna 1979, 249–311; Caričin Grad I (see n. 9), 399–481; BAVANT, Illyricum (see n. 9), 272–85; MANGO, Architecture (see n. 2), 24; also p. 59 above.

<sup>38</sup> ROUECHÉ, Cities (see n. 2), 579 stresses the "sheer quantity of church buildings"; CLAUDE, Stadt (see n. 1), 85–9; DAGRON, Ville (see n. 19), 5–11 for further examples and their urban functions; for Gerasa MANGO, Architecture (see n. 2), 20–3; WHARTON, City (see n. 6), 64–73; B. BRENN, La cristianizzazione della città tardoantica. In: Actes XIV Congrès international d'Arqueologia Classica, Tarragona 1993. Tarragona 1994, 129–35.

<sup>39</sup> HATTERSLEY-SMITH, Architecture (see n. 2), 67–87, with the history, patronage, sources, and other churches in the city.

The strong impact of a church on a town was at times achieved not by the size, or the central location of the building, but by its strategic siting. At Pergamum, for instance, a Christian basilica and its atrium were constructed in the center of the Lower Agora, on the flank of the Acropolis (pl. 20a, fig. 1)<sup>40</sup>. A large, important exterior urban space of Antiquity was thus almost obliterated by a Christian building. However, only the open courtyard of the Lower Agora was transformed, since location and size of the new building were carefully adjusted to the forms of the agora peristyle, which must have remained in tact<sup>41</sup>. The peristyle therefore became a frame around the church, which was approached and seen from it. The architect and his patrons may well have been aware of the “symbolic” implications of their ensemble, which seems to demonstratively reflect the transition from “old to new”. However, this example from Pergamum reflects a gentle transition from paganism to Christianity, in which important elements from Antiquity were retained to enhance the new building, and to achieve a new symbiosis.

Apparently equally demonstrative, but with far more powerful impact on the center of the city was the conversion of the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias into a church probably the Cathedral (pl. 16, fig. 2)<sup>42</sup>. The cella walls were entirely removed and new exterior walls were constructed, making the church about twice as wide as the temple, much longer, and also much higher. The new church was one of the largest in Asia Minor. On the exterior nothing could be seen of the temple after the conversion, but inside the building the columns of the peristasis were retained, partly relocated, as the major church colonnades. Therefore, to the inhabitants of Aphrodisias it must have appeared that the famous temple in the center of their city had been swallowed up by the new building, strikingly demonstrating to them that the new religion was far mightier than the old.

In no example is the impact of a church building on the urban fabric more dramatic than in Justinian’s Saint Sophia at Constantinople, the religious and, in some respects, the political focal point of the Empire<sup>43</sup>. It was constructed at the upper edge of the Imperial (“Great”) Palace, which was laid out on the southeast flanks of the low hills upon which the city was built. (From this prime residential location the buildings and courtyards of the Palace complex, terraced down the slope toward the Marmara on the southeast, must have had splendid views out to the open sea; they must also have enjoyed the low rays of the winter sun, and have been cooled by the sea breezes in summer). From most of the city, with its hills and valleys, relatively narrow streets, and two to four storey buildings, the church could not have been seen with ease. Saint Sophia was approached from many of the commercial and residential quarters using the Mese. This broad, colonnaded main street of Constantinople was built on the ridge of low hills west of the church, employing the most level available route from the west edge of the city to its center (pl. 18, fig. 1)<sup>44</sup>. The church was situated off

<sup>40</sup> Only the foundations were found. W. DÖRPFELD, *Die Arbeiten zu Pergamon 1900 – 1901. AM 27 (1902) 10–160, 31–5*, with a date by Josef Strzygowski in the 4th century based upon stylistic criteria that must be updated; A. CONZE, *Stadt und Land (Altstädter von Pergamon 1/2)*. Berlin 1913, 304–54, esp. 304f.; RHEIDT, *Wohnstadt* (see n. 20), 182–4, 226–9; also ROUECHÉ, *Cities* (see n. 2), 582, for other, similar examples.

<sup>41</sup> RHEIDT, *Wohnstadt* (see n. 20), 182f., assumes that two sides of the peristyle were no longer standing when the church was built, because the atrium of the church lies quite near the south colonnade of the agora, which is not parallel with the church, and because the apse is too close to the east colonnade. However, the excavator (DÖRPFELD, *Arbeiten*, 33) states that the apse came very close to the peristyle (“tritt bis dicht an die Säulen heran”), and not that it was built into it, as RHEIDT believes (p. 182, “geringe Überschneidung der Apsis”). The care taken to build up to, but not into the agora colonnade implies that the peristyle was in tact, a conclusion also reached by Dörpfeld, and that the intention was to situate the building as far east as possible in order to provide more space at the west, where the main approach must have been located. Since several walls of the church complex are not parallel with each other, the divergence of wall directions between the church complex and the peristyle cannot be used to draw meaningful conclusions; the diversions may probably be explained by the lack of adequate measuring equipment or by incompetence.

<sup>42</sup> R. CORMACK, *The Temple as the Cathedral*. In: *Aphrodisias Papers. (Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplementary Series I)*, eds. Ch. ROUECHÉ – K. T. ERIM. London 1990, 75–88; IDEM, *Byzantine Aphrodisias, Changing the Symbolic Map of the City. Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society 216 (1990) 26–41*; WARD-PERKINS, *Legacy* (see n. 19), 233–40; BUCHWALD, *Retrofit* (see n. 12), 5–9, 20–2 for a somewhat more detailed analysis of the changes.

<sup>43</sup> R. J. MAINSTONE, *Hagia Sophia, Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian’s Great Church*. New York 1988, 21, *et passim*, with a detailed account and further references; BUCHWALD, *Saint Sophia* (see n. 12), 29–48 with observations concerning the design of the building.

<sup>44</sup> For summaries of the Great Palace and Mese, MANGO, *Architecture* (see n. 2), 28, Fig. 29; IDEM, *Constantinople*, 23–36; MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon* (see n. 4), 229–37, 269–70, each with further references; A. BERGER, *Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople. DOP 54 (2000) 161–72* for a proposed roughly orthogonal street layout; IDEM, *Strassen und Plätze in Konstantinopel als*

the axis of the Mese, and it could probably not be seen from most portions of the street. However, a person moving towards Saint Sophia near the eastern end of the Mese, past the Milion into the Augusteion, probably had a sudden, surprising view of the church looming up to the east, over the open space of the square: it may well have been one of the most forceful urban experiences of any city, and indeed, of any period (pl. 17, fig. 1).

The dramatically rising volume of Saint Sophia may also have been striking from nearby parts of the Great Palace. However, positioned on the crest of the ridge, in a slight dip between two low hills, its appearance must have been most impressive, above all, from the sea: the church is, and probably always was, most visible, and most remarkable in the context of the city skyline, when seen from the Golden Horn to the north and northwest (pl. 8, fig. 1), from the Bosphorus to the east, and from the Marmara to the south. During the Byzantine period most visitors to Constantinople probably first saw the city from the sea; from there, even at a great distance the dome of Saint Sophia must have been the most prominent landmark. Of course, it was not only the siting that made Saint Sophia a landmark from the sea; because the size of the building was at least as crucial. However, even as an extremely large standard basilica the impact from the sea would not have been impressive. It is the great, high mass of Justinian's building, and its dome, that make the view of it from the sea so striking.

### THE LATER PERIOD

Medieval Byzantine cities have been described in terms of narrow, crooked, confusing, almost formless streets and houses that grew "organically", spontaneously, without either a town plan or any type of town planning<sup>45</sup>. However, while exceptions may exist, the available evidence does not support that interpretation<sup>46</sup>.

### THE CITY AS A MACHINE FOR DEFENSE

Most medieval Byzantine towns were built to be "machines for defense". Frequently towns were relocated to defensible hilltop positions, at times to the ancient acropolis. Where the topography provided no defensible hilltop, as at Amorium, with great expenditure of cost and energy, the site could be artificially raised with fill<sup>47</sup>. The towns were surrounded by extremely thick, high defensive walls. If fortifications already existed, they were usually strengthened and often reduced in length, not only because of reductions in the number of inhabitants, but because the towns could then be defended more effectively by smaller garrisons. As many as three defensive wall systems were employed to protect a single town<sup>48</sup>.

Fortifications are the most prominent features of medieval Byzantine towns. Only the defensive wall was seen when approaching many of them: usually no building or building part existed in the town that was as tall as the fortifications (pl. 8, fig. 2). (Two exceptions must be mentioned: first, in some towns large Ancient or Early Byzantine buildings, or their ruins, were still standing, and second, in some towns topographic features, such as a high hill or steep slope, were visible from the distance.) Since no building of the town was as massive as the town wall, inside the towns the fortifications must also have been the most imposing visual

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Schauplätze von Liturgie. In: R. WARLAND (ed.), *Bildlichkeit und Bildorte von Liturgie. Schauplätze in Spätantike, Byzanz und Mittelalter*. Wiesbaden 2002, 9–20 for the ceremonial use of streets and public spaces; H.-G. BECK, *Großstadt-Probleme: Konstantinopel vom 4. – 6. Jahrhundert*. In: H.-G. BECK (ed.), *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels (MBM 14)*. Munich 1973, 1–26 for the early development of the city.

<sup>45</sup> For instance, BOURAS, *City* (see n. 2), 616, 618f., 634, 638f., 644; IDEM, *Urban Planning in Middle and Late Byzantine Cities. DChAE IV 20* (1998) [1999] (Greek with English summary), 89–98, reaffirms his earlier views; BRANDES, *Stadt* (see n. 2), 4, uses the term "regellos".

<sup>46</sup> BOURAS, *City* (see n. 2), *passim*, for an overview of the evidence available when his study appeared in 1981.

<sup>47</sup> IVison, *Renewal* (see n. 2), 14–8.

<sup>48</sup> Scholarship on medieval Byzantine cities generally stresses their defensive character; for an overview, C. FOSS – D. WINFIELD, *Byzantine Fortifications*, an Introduction. Pretoria 1986, particularly 3–24; ANGOLD, *City* (see n. 2), 4–6, 15; FOSS, *Urbanism* (see n. 2), 304–7; IVison, *Renewal* (see n. 2), 1–46; BOURAS, *City* (see n. 2), 639; KRIESIS, *Building* (see n. 2), 167–72; for city relocations, particularly BRANDES, *Städte* (see n. 1), 111–9; for city reduction, FOSS, *Urbanism* (see n. 2), 306; BOURAS, *City* (see n. 2), 615, 642f., *et passim*; BRANDES, *Städte* (see n. 1), 82–111; IDEM, *Stadt*, 4; CLAUDE, *Stadt* (see n. 1), 39–41.



features: they probably loomed up above the buildings, on the one hand providing the inhabitants with a sense of security, but on the other hand, presenting them with a constant reminder of threat. The ever present, powerful visual impact of the fortification walls outside and inside the towns reflects directly not only the great danger of attack that made the walls necessary, but also the considerable expertise, skill, material and, above all, effort that their design and construction required. The building volume of the fortifications represents a sizable, and perhaps overwhelming portion of all building activity of the time, and thus probably also a sizable portion of economic activity.

Fortifications were not the only features of medieval Byzantine towns that were useful for defense. The narrow, crooked, confusing streets of some medieval Byzantine towns may also have been employed as defensive measures. In Mistra, for instance, often the main street continues up into the town, in the direction of the castle, while at a fork another street, of similar size and appearance, continues some distance to a dead end<sup>49</sup>. Because both streets are narrow and crooked, permitting no convenient overview, the enemy that breached the walls would have been confused, and if the enemy pursued both routes, its forces would have been divided and, in each street, diminished (pl. 11, fig. 1). The defenders, who knew the streets and houses well, were at an advantage. The steepness of the streets, (that could have been reduced, in spite of the topography, by following a flatter grade), was also an advantage to the defenders, since they were positioned on the higher ground. But the crooked, narrow streets flanked by steep, high facades on both sides were apparently a valuable part of the defensive system in still another manner. They created what may be termed the “Thermopylae effect,” in which a small force may effectively defend the town against a more numerous enemy because the enemy can deploy only a limited number of soldiers at one time.

However, as far as we know Mistra was not a typical medieval Byzantine city. It was founded only in the 13th century, a period when the Western presence in the Peloponnese was strong, and when Italian soldiers and merchants had been prominent in many parts of the Byzantine realm for generations. It may not be coincidental that the crooked, narrow, confusing streets of Mistra remind us of those of Italian hill towns, for instance, in Tuscany and Liguria<sup>50</sup>.

#### THE ORTHOGONAL HOUSING PATTERN

We do not know whether the forms of the Mistra streets and houses were common in the medieval Byzantine period, but the evidence of excavations at Pergamum and Corinth implies that the appearance of at least some medieval Byzantine towns differed significantly from that of Mistra.

As far as we know no medieval Byzantine city, or city section, datable to the period before the 13th century has been preserved, and only rarely have medieval Byzantine towns been excavated<sup>51</sup>. Pergamum provides the best available example of how portions of a medieval Byzantine town may have looked, the site is very well published, and because the excavated medieval remains were at least in part retained, and may be visited. The fact that the city was important already in Antiquity and in the Early Byzantine period contributes to a better understanding of changes that took place. Nevertheless, the evidence is frustratingly incomplete: Only a limited portion of the medieval city was excavated; the remains usually stand only one to two meters

<sup>49</sup> For an overview, S. SINOS, *Mistras. RbK* 6 (1999) 380–518, including history, layout, and monuments; M. CHATZIDAKIS, *Mistra*. Athens 1981, 10–32, 119–23; BOURAS, *City* (see n. 2), 631f.; for a richly illustrated account of the private houses, A. K. ORLANDOS, *Les maisons paleologiennes de Mistra*, in: *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paleologues, Actes du Colloque. Études Byzantines* 1968. Venice 1971, 75–82; for an analysis of the dwellings, G. VELENIS, *Wohnviertel und Wohnhausbau in den byzantinischen Städten*, in: *Wohnungsbau im Altertum. Diskussionen zur archäologischen Bauforschung* 3 (1978) 227–36, 229–35; for a summary of medieval Byzantine houses in Greece, Ch. BOURAS, *Katoikies kai oikismoi ste byzantine Ellada*, in: *Oikismoi sten Hellada*. Athens 1974, 30–52.

<sup>50</sup> The Italian presence is generally recognized in accounts of Byzantine history. See, for instance, ANGOLD, *City* (see n. 2), 24–8, 32–7; BRANDES, *Stadt* (see n. 2), 5f., for Italian political and commercial influence on Byzantine cities since the eleventh century, with a growing impact in the thirteenth; BOURAS, *City* (see n. 2), emphasizes that Mistra is a special case among Byzantine cities; R. L. SCRANTON, *Medieval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth (Corinth XVI)*. Princeton, N. J. 1957, 136, notes the great difference in urban planning evident at Mistra and Corinth, and speculates that around the 13th century new trends, “whatever their origin”, became dominant.

<sup>51</sup> BOURAS, *City* (see n. 2), 612–7 deplores the lack of evidence and underscores the need for further excavation; *ibidem*, *passim*, reviews the evidence available when the study appeared.

above ground; many medieval walls were removed in the 19th and in the early 20th centuries before they were recorded.

At Pergamum most of the Late Antique and Early Byzantine building activity was concentrated in the plain south of the acropolis. After the city was destroyed by the Arab forces under Maslama in 715–16, numismatic evidence is lacking for a century, but then building activity apparently resumed on the Ancient acropolis, spreading slowly from the citadel towards the southeast down the slopes. Except where the slopes are too steep, medieval buildings were constructed in the entire rather large area within the fortifications; even so, the size of the medieval city on the acropolis was less than one tenth the size of the Late Antique city in the plains (pls. 20b, fig. 1; 21a, fig. 1; pl. 8, fig. 3). Most of the buildings that were excavated have been attributed to the period from the 11th century to the 14th, but a number of Byzantine coins were found dating from as early as the ninth century, implying that the site was already occupied then<sup>52</sup>.

The medieval city was fortified by three distinctive walls: one that defended the citadel at the top of the acropolis, a second that defended the slope southeast of the citadel, and a third, much longer wall, that defended the lower slopes to the southeast. Since, because of the exceedingly steep acropolis slopes on the south, north and west, the medieval city could be approached with ease only from the southeast, any invader was forced to breach three fortifications before entering the citadel. Some of the Pergamene fortifications are attributed to earlier eras, but others are medieval or were strengthened during the medieval period<sup>53</sup>.

The main street of medieval Pergamum has the same location, layout and form as the main street of the Ancient city. It is neither narrow nor crooked, but rather, continues up the slope in gentle curves that take advantage of the topography (pl. 21a, fig. 1). One steep, narrow, crooked side street was found, but most secondary streets are short, relatively straight, and lead to dead ends: they provided access to houses inside the block<sup>54</sup>. Some of the dead end access streets have sharp right angle corners that may have had a military function, because defending soldiers situated behind the corner wall would have had the advantage of surprise over the advancing enemy.

No large medieval exterior space was found at Pergamum. At Corinth, however, among medieval streets and houses a large square was excavated that overlay an agora of Ancient Corinth<sup>55</sup>. Although the medieval square at Corinth was irregularly shaped and not very similar to the earlier one, the relationship between the earlier and later squares seems to be underscored by the fact that one of the buildings on the medieval square was constructed with a portico, apparently a faint echo of a peristyle. Also, some medieval houses on the main street of Corinth were built with porches echoing colonnades. The disposition of both the medieval

<sup>52</sup> Care must be exercised when reading the excavation reports, because the term "Late Byzantine" is misleadingly used to designate all medieval phases. For the Late Antique and Early Byzantine periods, U. WULF, *Der Stadtplan von Pergamon. IstMitt* 44 (1994) 135–75, 168–75, *et passim*; RHEIDT, *Wohnstadt* (see n. 20), 199–223 for a convenient overview, but without the results of more recent excavations; *ibidem*, 220f. for a chronological summary based upon coin finds, that proposes a beginning of medieval occupation in the tenth century and an interruption from the late eleventh into the twelfth; IDEM, *The urban development of Pergamon*. In: PARRISH (see n. 2), 43–56 with a strong emphasis on planning before Christianity became prominent; RHEIDT, *Wohnstadt* (see n. 20), 196–202, 246–51 for summaries of the history and the building activity from the Late Antique until the Turkish periods; *ibidem*, 198 assumes that work on the housing areas on the acropolis south slopes began in the second half of the 12th century; *ibidem*, 201 and W. RADT, *Pergamon, Vorbericht über die Kampagne 1987. Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1988) 461–6, 464–6 for three phases: 1) the earliest and major phase, 12th–13th centuries; 2) from the early 13th century until the earthquake of 1296; 3) the first half of the 14th century; K. RHEIDT, *Byzantinische Wohnhäuser des 11. bis 14. Jahrhunderts in Pergamon. DOP* 44 (1990) 195–204, 197f., attributes the beginning of work on the housing areas to the end of the 11th century or the early 12th and relates it to the Seljuk invasions; IDEM, *Pergamon – Wohnhäuser und Siedlungsentwicklung einer byzantinischen Provinzstadt in Westkleinasien*. In: *Çağlar boyunca anadolu'da yerleşim ve konut uluslararası sempozyumu, 5–7 Haziran 1996* (International Symposium on Settlement and Housing in Anatolia Through the Ages). Istanbul 1999, 347–58 for a more recent, brief and convenient overview; CONZE, *Stadt* (see n. 40), 329–31 for the Byzantine coins found during the early excavation campaigns; see also C. FOSS, *Archaeology and the 'Twenty Cities' of Byzantine Asia. AJA* 81 (1977) 469–86, 479–81.

<sup>53</sup> M. KLINKOTT, *Die Stadtmauern 1, Die byzantinischen Befestigungsanlagen von Pergamon mit ihrer Wehr- und Baugeschichte (Altortümer von Pergamon XVI/1)*. Berlin–New York 2001, particularly 13–103, figs. 6–10; CONZE, *Stadt* (see n. 40), 305–8.

<sup>54</sup> W. RADT, *Pergamon, Vorbericht über die Kampagne 1977. Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1978) 407–17, 409, fig. 1, also for medieval repairs of the Ancient street; RHEIDT, *Wohnstadt* (see n. 20), 202–4.

<sup>55</sup> SCRANTON, *Corinth* (see n. 50), 53, 124f., 133–6; HATTERSLEY-SMITH, *Architecture* (see n. 2), 212–38, for a convenient summary of Christian building activity at Corinth; also H. S. ROBINSON, *The Urban Development of Ancient Corinth*. Athens 1965, 31f. for a very abbreviated, somewhat different account.

square in Corinth, and the medieval street at Pergamum, over predecessors of Antiquity may thus not be coincidental: rather, both may reflect a conscious effort to establish continuity with the Ancient past.

The main street of medieval Pergamum was lined with shops that usually opened directly onto the street, and that often consisted of one or two rooms (pl. 21b, fig. 1). Many appear to have been used for the production as well as for the sale of goods. The scale and disposition of these small shops, lining the main street, is reminiscent of similar shops that can be observed at Ephesos. However, they are also strikingly similar to shops at Pergamum, attributed to the Roman and Hellenistic phases, that lined the same street at a much lower level<sup>56</sup>.

Like those of Constantinople, the southeast slopes of the acropolis at Pergamum are ideally suited for residential functions. The site was terraced down to the south and east, providing most houses with winter sun and a splendid view of the plain and mountains to the south. Nearly all of the houses were constructed with rectangular rooms that opened directly onto rectangular, often quite long courtyards (pls. 21a–b, fig. 1; pl. 9, fig. 1). While the smaller houses had only one or two rooms and were modest in size, the larger houses had up to eight rooms at ground level, some rooms measuring up to ten meters in length. Several houses were sizeable, with lengths measuring up to 30 meters and areas up to 500 square meters (courtyards included). Because stairs were only rarely found, the excavators believe that most houses had only a single story, but stairs and upper floors may have been constructed of wood<sup>57</sup>.

Most houses are laid out with little or no space between them, and their walls are approximately parallel or perpendicular with the main street; thus, they form sizable areas in which all of the rooms and courtyards stand almost parallel with each other (pls. 21a–b, fig. 1; pl. 9, fig. 1)<sup>58</sup>. This roughly orthogonal pattern is not continuous on the entire site, because the main street winds through the city in large arcs, and since each residential section is laid out approximately parallel with the street, it is not parallel with other residential sections. Nevertheless, occasionally walls are aligned over long distances, up to about 40 meters, and some parts of these long walls belong to different houses; therefore, they reinforce the continuity of the housing pattern. The aligned walls probably should not be explained by aesthetic considerations, because their continuity was not experienced from inside the different houses. Rather, since some portions of aligned walls were constructed during different periods, the alignments suggest the application of planning principles that were established before the houses were constructed, such as building regulations or property rights<sup>59</sup>. In medieval Pergamum at least some urban growth was achieved, not by the spontaneous addition of new houses, but by the subdivision of units within the already established orthogonal residential scheme<sup>60</sup>.

The observations at Pergamum concerning orthogonal housing patterns and aligned walls are corroborated by the evidence at Corinth, where a similar housing pattern continued, interrupted only by rather irregular streets, for at least 180 meters, and the wall alignments were up to 45 meters long<sup>61</sup>.

At Pergamum the orthogonal housing pattern was difficult to achieve and is not rigidly applied, probably not only because of the limitations of medieval Byzantine construction technology, but also, and primarily,

<sup>56</sup> W. RADT, Pergamon, Vorbericht über die Kampagne 1978. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1979) 309–16, 309, fig. 1–2, points out that gaps caused by side streets and entryways differentiate the medieval from the Hellenistic and Roman street fronts; however, the similarities are striking and greater than the differences; for shops and walls of Antiquity that were occasionally reused in the medieval phase, IDEM, Pergamon, Vorbericht über die Kampagne 1979. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1980) 400–5, fig. 1; W. RADT, Pergamon, Vorbericht über die Kampagne 1990. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1991) 398–411, fig. 2; also RHEIDT, Wohnstadt (see n. 20), 209–12; SCRANTON, Corinth (see n. 50), 123f., for similar features.

<sup>57</sup> All of the excavation reports are concerned with the functions of individual rooms and houses, which include dwellings, work shops, stables, cisterns, and storage areas; for summaries of the housing evidence, RADT, Pergamon (see n. 54), 309; RHEIDT, Wohnhäuser (see n. 52), *passim*; RHEIDT, Wohnstadt (see n. 20), 205–9, states that the larger units usually opened towards the south, and that the view from a house and its courtyard was never later blocked by construction.

<sup>58</sup> RADT, Pergamon (see n. 54), 309.

<sup>59</sup> VELENIS, Wohnhausbau (see n. 49), 227–9, with further references, for a fourteenth century Byzantine building code that undoubtedly had earlier, in part medieval antecedents; H. VETTERS, Das Baugesetz Zenos für Konstantinopel. *IstMitt* 39 (1989) 575–84 for a fifth century building code that has at least some similar regulations as the fourteenth century code.

<sup>60</sup> RADT, Pergamon (see n. 54), 309, 311–2, states that the orthogonal housing pattern must originally have been carefully planned, and notes the later internal additions.

<sup>61</sup> SCRANTON, Corinth (see n. 50), 52–83, 128–36, plans VI–VII, observes (52) “the preserved complex represents substantially one plan”; however, BOURAS, City (see n. 2), 617–9, describes the evidence as “the absence of any plan, with settlement developing in a spontaneous and dynamic fashion”; see also KRIESIS, Building (see n. 2), 199.

because of the irregular, steep grade: grade variations of up to three meters exist in some of the long courtyards (pl. 9, fig. 1). The rugged topography made the long alignment of walls, and the continuity of the rectilinear building layouts difficult to achieve<sup>62</sup>. Thus careful, predetermined orthogonal planning was applied in medieval Pergamum in spite of the topography. An “organic”, spontaneous disposition of buildings at Pergamum, that would have required less effort to realize, would have avoided long alignments and continuous orthogonal patterns; “organic planning” (or a lack of planning) would have led to loosely organized building forms, primarily with curved features that followed the contour lines.

The orthogonal housing patterns and the courtyard house schemes at Pergamum and Corinth remind of residential areas of Ephesos, and of many other cities, during the Late Antique and Early Byzantine periods. To be sure, the Late Antique houses of Ephesos are more compact and more sophisticated in design, and the stringent grid plan of Ephesian streets does not occur in the two medieval cities. But in Late Antique cities, the orthogonal housing patterns are at times also adjusted to the local topography and to other features<sup>63</sup>. Thus, those responsible for constructing medieval Pergamum apparently chose town planning features that reflected those of earlier periods, even though their application was more difficult, requiring greater effort, than the creation of more loosely planned, or unplanned options.

Since Pergamum was apparently abandoned for an extended period, the town planning strategies used there probably do not reflect an ongoing tradition in the city<sup>64</sup>. To be sure, walls and architectural components of Antiquity, usually in a fragmentary, ruinous state of preservation, were occasionally reused at Pergamum, and also at Corinth, affirming that some earlier building layouts were known during the medieval period<sup>65</sup>. In each city the first medieval builders may, perhaps, have used the remains of Antiquity as points of departure for their urban planning. However, at least at Pergamum the use of ancient remnants was quite limited, and in most locations the earlier walls were either ignored or removed. Also, the building layouts of Antiquity in Pergamum and Corinth are quite different from each other, as are the topographic conditions. Therefore, if the medieval builders had used only the pre-existing features of each site as points of departure, we would expect the character of the planning at Pergamum and Corinth to differ more significantly.

Rather, the consistent use of similar orthogonal housing patterns both at Pergamum and at Corinth suggests that these town planning strategies reflect a generally applied approach to the reconstruction of at least some medieval Byzantine cities; an approach that appears to be based upon a conscious revival of earlier forms<sup>66</sup>. The medieval revival of urban forms from the Late Antique and Early Byzantine periods should not surprise us, because similar, parallel revivals are well known in the visual arts and in literature. As in art and literature, the earlier models for medieval Byzantine town planning are easily recognized, just as the differences are equally evident. However, apparently in contrast to the revivals in art and literature, the rather consistent revival of earlier town planning features in two cities that are relatively remote from each other suggests that the revival in town planning was devised, dispersed, and controlled by a central authority, one that was able

<sup>62</sup> RADT, Pergamon (see n. 54), 309.

<sup>63</sup> See p. 61–2 and notes 21, 22, and 27 above for the streets and residential areas of Ephesos and for comparable examples; both at Pergamum and Ephesos the orthogonal housing patterns of Antiquity were adjusted occasionally to compensate for the topography and other features; for housing of Antiquity and Late Antiquity, MARTIN, L’urbanisme (see n. 22), 221–52; J.-P. SODINI, L’habitat urbain en Grèce à la veille des invasions, in: *Villes et peuplement dans l’Illyricum protobyzantine*. Actes du colloque organisé par l’École Française de Rome (*Collection de l’École Française de Rome* 77). Rome 1984, 341–97; also J. LASSUS, Sur les maisons d’Antioche. In: *Apamée de Syrie: bilan des recherches archéologiques 1973 – 1979. Aspects de l’architecture domestique d’Apamée: actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles*, éd. par J. BALTÿ (*Fouilles d’Apamée de Syrie, Miscellanea* 13). Brussels 1984, 361–93, with many houses of the 4<sup>th</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> century period at Antioch that resemble, in their floor plans, those of Pergamum; J. Ch. BALTÿ, Notes sur l’habitat romain, byzantin et arabe d’Apamée, rapport de synthèse. In: *Op. cit.*, 471–501.

<sup>64</sup> HATTERSLEY-SMITH, Architecture (see n. 2), 221–8 summarizes the limited evidence for continuity at Corinth; SCRANTON, Corinth (see n. 50), 33 for a summary of building activity during the period 610–802 that implies limited continuity in spite of “profound desuetude”.

<sup>65</sup> For the occasional reuse, and more frequent removal of walls and components of Antiquity, see RADT, Pergamon (see n. 54), 416, fig. 1; IDEM, Pergamon. Bericht über die Kampagne 1978. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1980, fig. 1; SCRANTON, Corinth (see n. 50), 48f., 82f., 123, plan VI; for further examples in other cities, including the continuity of street patterns, BOURAS, City (see n. 2), 639–41; for primarily documentary evidence of continuity, BRANDES, Städte (see n. 1), 124–31.

<sup>66</sup> ANGOLD, City (see n. 2), 18–24 for comparisons, including parallels, between the economic and political condition of Byzantine cities of the 11th and 12th centuries and those of the Early Byzantine period; SCRANTON, Corinth (see n. 50), 134–6 considers the possible origins of the urban forms at Corinth.



to exert influence and to expend resources. It is only reasonable to assume that such a central authority was closely related to the Imperial throne in the capital. The intention of such a centrally orchestrated program may not only have been the reconstruction of Byzantine cities, but also the implication of a historic continuity which did not, at least in many cities, actually exist<sup>67</sup>.

#### THE CHURCH BUILDING IN THE PROVINCIAL MEDIEVAL TOWN

Churches were the only medieval public buildings that were found in the excavations at Pergamum. At least eight small medieval churches or chapels were excavated, in some residential areas only about 100 meters apart<sup>68</sup>. The two largest were located on the theater terrace and in the citadel; since neither of them is preserved, and since the urban context of neither was recorded, they will not concern us here<sup>69</sup>. The other churches are very small single cell structures<sup>70</sup> except one, that was excavated in 1989 on the lower slopes of the city (pl. 9, fig. 2). This church is located about 10 meters south of the main street, and may originally have been accessible from it using a short side street. It has been attributed to the late 12th century or the early 13th, and may have belonged to a monastery, although its use as a parish church should not be excluded<sup>71</sup>. The fragmentary remaining walls, columns and piers make a reconstruction as an abbreviated inscribed cross church probable, the outer dimensions of the building measuring only about 6 x 10 meters (including the apse but not the ancillary facilities)<sup>72</sup>.

None of the excavated medieval churches at Pergamum is located directly on the main street, or in another location which would make it a focal point within the city, or within the neighborhood in which it stands. The church found in 1989 is hardly larger than some of the nearby shops and rooms; in its location away from the main street, separated from it by shops and houses, it was probably insignificant in the fabric of the

<sup>67</sup> IVISON, *Renewal* (see n. 2), 1–46, stresses imperial support of medieval Byzantine cities and provides numerous examples of state sponsored projects between 727 and 1025, most of which are fortifications; *ibidem*, 18–27, for medieval Byzantine cities as products of imperial renewal and the revival of Antiquity.

<sup>68</sup> W. RADT, Pergamon, Vorbericht über die Kampagne 1989. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1991) 398–424, 399; RHEIDT, *Wohnstadt* (see n. 20), 226–33.

<sup>69</sup> CONZE, *Stadt* (see n. 40), 308–20; RHEIDT, *Wohnstadt* (see n. 20), 155–9, 176–82, 230f. Both churches, and particularly that at the theater, were probably prominent in the view of the acropolis from the plain to the south, but not from other locations inside the town.

<sup>70</sup> RADT, Pergamon (see n. 54), 312–5 for a chapel that appears to have no direct street access and may have been the catholicon of a monastery or a private house chapel; IDEM, Pergamon. Vorbericht (see n. 65), 405, fig. 2, for a large, very late, probably monastic complex with little or no direct relationship to the earlier structures on the same site; IDEM, Pergamon, Vorbericht über die Kampagne 1981. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1982) 539–43, 541, for a late chapel on the site of a much larger and earlier, destroyed, basilica; for summaries, IDEM, Pergamon 1989 (see. n. 68), 399; RHEIDT, *Wohnstadt* (see n. 20), 231f.

<sup>71</sup> RADT, Pergamon 1989 (see. n. 68), 399–410, for a description and 406f., for the proposed date, based upon the approximate date of a nearby lime kiln that appears to have been used in its construction; *ibidem*, 404, for the entrance, which was originally located at the west and was later relocated to the south side of the church; R. assumes that a square preceded the side street west of the church, *ibidem*, 399, 407–10; IDEM, Pergamon. Vorbericht über die Kampagne 1990. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1991, 402, for the proposal that it was a catholicon based upon the rooms and building to the east, which are interpreted as monastic; however, since the entrance to the church was originally from the west, the church may originally not have been related to these buildings, and they could have been non-monastic dwellings and service buildings; possibly the building east of the church was transformed into a monastery when the church portal was relocated; *ibidem*, 402, states that the cemetery in which the church stands was reached by broad steps from the main street, implying that the graves were accessible to the inhabitants and were therefore not necessarily those of monks; it is unclear whether the cemetery access is contemporary with the original entrance of the church, or whether it was constructed later, perhaps when the church portal was relocated from the west to the south.

<sup>72</sup> The inscribed cross scheme is abbreviated in that the bema bay is the eastern cross arm. RADT, Pergamon 1989 (see. n. 68), 403f., fig. 5, identifies the building as an inscribed cross church, but his reconstruction drawing contains inaccuracies. The western wall pier of the south facade is shown in the drawing with only a single, rather than with two reentrant angles at the west, and the wall pier at each end of the west facade is not shown; two recessed arcades that flanked the main door therefore probably articulated the west facade, rather than only one arcade, that would have framed the door. The reconstruction drawing, fig. 5, is seriously flawed. The vaulting solution of inscribed cross churches is well known and usually leaves only details to the imagination. The diaphragm arches (except next to the corner bays), the shed roof ceilings, and the lower drum of the reconstruction drawing are erroneous. Over the four cross arms there would have been barrel vaults with almost equal spans and heights, emanating from the central bay; these barrel vaults (and not the piers and columns) directly supported the pendentives, which in turn supported the drum and dome; the corner bays were probably vaulted with domical or, more likely, barrel vaults.

medieval town. At most its small dome, with an outer diameter of only about 2.50 meters, would have been visible over the roofs of the nearby buildings. The situation seems to have been similar in medieval Corinth: although large, early churches may have remained in use, only two churches were found in the excavated portion of the medieval town. The Bema Church and the Church of Saint John Theologos, probably both monastic edifices, were packed into the domestic and commercial quarters, and were reached only from narrow side streets. There is no indication that they were domed, or that they were readily visible from nearby streets except in their immediate vicinity<sup>73</sup>.

The rather limited impact of most medieval Byzantine churches on the urban fabric, not only at Pergamum and Corinth, but in the entire Empire, is best illustrated by a comparison with examples from the East and West. Each town or village in the Islamic realms contained at least one mosque accompanied by a minaret. The minaret was a requirement because of its acoustic advantages for the call to prayer. However, it also provided a vertical accent in the townscape which immediately signalled the location of the most important building, the mosque. No equivalent feature exists in Byzantine towns. Even more striking is the contrast between the medieval churches of Byzantine towns and those built about the same time in Western Europe. A view of Auxerre on the Yonne in Burgundy, for instance, shows that the Gothic Cathedral of Saint Stephen, with its enormous height and massive volume, towered over and completely dominated the townscape (pl. 10, fig. 1). Nevertheless, the comparison with Pergamum is apt, because the size of both towns, inside the medieval fortifications, is almost the same.

The modest scale of all medieval Byzantine churches has often been stressed. In a few towns, however, such as Ephesos and Thessalonica, large churches of the Early Byzantine period continued to dominate the townscape during the medieval period. Some exceptional medieval Byzantine churches that had a significant impact upon their urban contexts must also be mentioned. The most striking is the Church of Saint Sophia at Monemvasia, probably of the 12th century, which is perched at the edge of a high seaside cliff and is most impressive from the sea (pl. 11, fig. 2)<sup>74</sup>. Another example is the Church of the Virgin *Chalkeon* at Thessalonica, built in 1028. The tall, double storey drum of its dome in particular probably made the building stand out in the city<sup>75</sup>. Most examples of medieval Byzantine urban churches that were particularly prominent were constructed somewhat later. The *Paregorëtissa*, for instance, is situated on high ground in a prominent location at Arta. It was meant to be seen from afar, and was reconstructed in the 1290's with a massive volume and rich roof profile<sup>76</sup>. Other churches of the following period that may also have been prominent within their urban contexts, due to their size, the massing of their domes, and their siting, include, (but are certainly not limited to), the churches of the *Hodegetria* and of the *Pantanassa* at Mistra, and the churches of Saint Catherine and of the Holy Apostles at Thessalonica<sup>77</sup>.

Possibly each of these buildings was designed, at least in part, under the influence of the more imposing church buildings of the West. In the twelfth century Monemvasia was one of the ports that was frequented by Italian merchants. The Church of the *Chalkeon* was founded by Christophoros, the governor of Byzantine southern Italy. With the reconstruction of the *Paregorëtissa* the Epirote despot Nikephoros I Komnenodoukas apparently wished to underline his own importance, his Byzantine imperial heritage, and his ties to Western ruling houses. In the late 13th, 14th and early 15th centuries architects and patrons of Mistra, Thessalonica and other cities had abundant opportunity to visit, or at least to inform themselves about churches of the West, either in the Peloponnese, in southern Italy, or elsewhere. Only a general knowledge of the size, massing and siting, and not a detailed understanding or appreciation of Western buildings would have been required.

<sup>73</sup> SCRANTON, Corinth (see n. 50), 54f., 62–6, 126, plans VI–VII; HATTERSLEY-SMITH (see n. 2), Architecture, 231–3, for a summary that includes other medieval churches in the city.

<sup>74</sup> H. KALLIGAS, Byzantine Monemvasia. The Sources. Monemvasia 1990, 61, 168f., fig. 12; R. KLAUS – U. STEINMÜLLER, Monemvasia. Athens 1994, 78–82; M. PANAYOTIDI, Les églises de Géraki et de Monemvasie. In: XXII Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina, Ravenna 1975. Ravenna 1975, 335–55, 349–55.

<sup>75</sup> K. PAPADOPOULOS, Die Wandmalereien des XI. Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessaloniki (BV 2). Graz–Cologne 1966, 11–5; MANGO, Architecture (see n. 2), 113–5; for the urban context and dating sources, HATTERSLEY-SMITH, Architecture (see n. 2), 192f.

<sup>76</sup> L. THEIS, Die Architektur der Kirche der Panagia Parēgorētissa in Arta, Epirus. Amsterdam 1991, *passim*; BUCHWALD, Retrofit (see n. 12), VIII 17–9.

<sup>77</sup> SINOS, Mistras (see n. 49), 424–30, 437–41; CHATZIDAKIS, Mistra (see n. 49), 47–67, 95–8; A. PAPAYIANNOPOULOS, Baudenkmäler Thessalonikis. Thessalonica 1963, 68–75; IDEM, Istoria tes Thessalonikes. Thessalonica (n.d.), 323–6.



But from the 9th to the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries most medieval Byzantine churches had only a limited impact upon the urban fabric into which they were constructed<sup>78</sup>. Usually in most towns only the domes of the medieval churches, which, like the church buildings, were modest in size, probably would have been seen over the rooftops (pl. 10, fig. 2). At street level even the domes probably were visible only from certain limited vantage points since, as the excavations at Pergamum and Corinth suggest, no attempt was usually made to construct churches on main streets or in prominent locations.

The striking difference in effect from contemporary Western examples has many possible explanations involving, for instance, great differences in political, economic and religious power structures. However, I believe that one of the most important reasons for the relative insignificance of medieval Byzantine churches in the townscapes is that the churches were designed to provide a direct, personal relationship between the worshipper, whether a peasant, monk or emperor, and the holy images applied to the vaults of the church buildings (pl. 12, fig. 1). That direct, personal relationship may be achieved in a small, intimately scaled church, but not in a huge, monumental building. The domes that were usually located at the centers of the churches were decorated on their interiors with the holiest images of the Byzantine religious hierarchy, turning the domes and their decorations into iconic and symbolic statements concerning the fundamental dogmas and beliefs of medieval Byzantine civilization<sup>79</sup>. It is therefore not surprising, that the domes signalled the church locations in the townscape.

However, these observations fail to explain why medieval churches in Byzantine towns frequently were not sited in prominent locations.

## CONCLUSION

The title of this study poses the question, does Byzantine town planning exist? Many readers already will have found answers of their own, and this conclusion is, therefore, perhaps unnecessary. Nevertheless, it may be helpful to point out that the answers, (and there are several), to the question depend in large part upon the definition of *Byzantine town planning*. For instance, if we define *town planning* in a narrow sense, as the adherence to rather rigid town planning schemes such as the Hippodamian system or the provision of a *cardus* and a *decumanus*, then we may readily conclude that town planning existed in the Byzantine Empire in the early period, but that during the Middle Ages it probably did not. On the other hand, if we employ a more open-ended definition, in which town planning is understood, as it is usually today, as the thoughtful arrangement of urban features with respect to topography, preexisting site conditions, functional and legal considerations, and less tangible factors such as economic, political, aesthetic and other goals, then we will probably conclude that town planning also existed in the Byzantine Middle Ages.

Indeed, today in many older cities worldwide town planning involves, among other things, the preservation or the re-cycling of historic features, an aspect of town planning which must have been of particular concern in Byzantine cities throughout their history. The re-cycling of the Parthenon, (the most prominent urban feature of Byzantine Athens), is one good example, and the adherence, during the medieval period, to the path of the Ancient main street of Pergamum, is another.

But what is the answer to our question if we broaden our perspective and emphasize *Byzantine* town planning? If Byzantine town planning is understood to be town planning as it was practised in the Byzantine Empire, then the examples I have presented demonstrate that town planning, in the broader sense, probably existed throughout Byzantine history, even though our understanding of it is currently sketchy at best. However, we may also define *Byzantine* town planning as town planning which is typical of, or unique to the cities and towns of the Empire. Now the problem becomes more complex, and more difficult to address. On the one hand, each town plan, wherever and whenever it was created, is unique, since no other town will have

<sup>78</sup> BOURAS, City (see n. 2), 646 for an assessment of the urban impact of churches in medieval Byzantine towns with a different interpretation.

<sup>79</sup> H. BUCHWALD, The Geometry of Middle Byzantine Churches and Some Possible Implications. *JÖB* 42 (1992) 293–321, particularly 309–12; O. DEMUS, Byzantine Mosaic Decoration. London 1948, particularly 5–29; A. KAZHDAN, State, Feudal and Private Economy in Byzantium. *DOP* 47 (1993) 86–100, 87f. observes that “the Western church stressed the church’s institutional administration of salvation (‘no salvation outside the church’), whereas the Byzantine church put the emphasis on the individual’s deeds and thoughts”.

precisely the same features. In that sense each Byzantine town planning situation is typical and unique to the town for which it was created, and thus to Byzantine civilization. But on the other hand, almost every town plan is based at least in part upon certain preconceptions, such as the Hippodamian grid, local building codes, or the rules of urban planning prescribed by CIAM in the 1930's. As observed in our examples, probably the most prominent preconception during the planning of Byzantine towns of all periods was the preoccupation with urban design schemes and features from the Roman and Hellenic past. That should not surprise us, since similar preoccupations are evident in Byzantine art and literature. But if Byzantine town planning involves primarily schemes borrowed from the past, is it truly *Byzantine*?

Are there not also characteristics of Byzantine town planning which *originated* in the Byzantine Empire, and which, therefore, may be termed *specifically Byzantine*? I suggest that the conception of the dome of Saint Sophia in Constantinople as a dramatic urban focal point provides at least one example of such specifically Byzantine town planning: the conception and design of Saint Sophia thus, had not only a structural, but also an urban design component. Whether the dome as an urban focal point originated with Saint Sophia, or with another Byzantine church will not concern us here; comparisons with earlier domes in an urban setting require further study. However, a comparison with Hadrian's Pantheon in Rome suggests that in this respect Imperial Rome did not provide a model for Byzantine planners, since the dome of the Pantheon is suppressed on the exterior, and was not prominent in its urban setting. While *medieval* examples which also demonstrate originality in Byzantine urban planning also may exist, additional studies and above all, careful excavation of medieval Byzantine sites such as, for instance, Amorium, will be required before we may fully evaluate the features of medieval Byzantine towns.

BÉATRICE CASEAU

## Incense and Fragrances: from House to Church

*A Study of the Introduction of Incense in the Early Byzantine Christian Churches*

When the Russian ambassadors entered Hagia Sophia in 987, they were struck by the enchanting fragrance within the church. This wonderful perfume, which floated through the church came from the perfumed oils burning in the lamps and from the fragrant smoke of incense wafting from censers. In 987, if we are to trust the *Russian primary Chronicle*, the prince of Kiev, Vladimir, had sent ten wise men to investigate Christian churches abroad. They visited the Bulgarians, the Germans and the Byzantines. In Constantinople, they were received by the emperor himself, who took special care to impress his visitors: “the emperor sent a message to the patriarch to inform him that a Russian delegation had arrived to examine the Greek faith, and directed him to prepare the church and the clergy, and to array himself in sacerdotal robes, so that the Russians might behold the glory of the God of the Greeks. When the patriarch received these commands, he bade the clergy assemble, and they performed the customary rites. They burned incense, and the choirs sang hymns. The emperor accompanied the Russians to the church, and placed them in a wide space, calling their attention to the beauty of the building, the chanting, and the offices of the archpriest and the ministry of the deacons, while he explained to them the worship of his God.” The Russians were indeed impressed by such splendor and they eventually chose the Greek faith.

The perfume of the church was but one element in conveying the glory of God. Lights, colours and singing also played an important role in the aesthetic experience. Yet the odour of the church was a key factor in the choice of the Byzantine church over the Bulgarian and the German churches. Compared with the stench of Bulgarian churches, and the absence of beauty in the German churches, the sweet-smelling fragrance of Hagia Sophia was indeed, a pleasant surprise for the visitors. It was to become a trademark of the Byzantine churches. This is not to say that other churches did not burn incense in their religious buildings, but it seems clear that the Patriarchal church used more incense and insisted more on perfume than other medieval churches. Incense had become the perfume of Byzantine churches. The smell of incense lingered in the churches and, at any time of the day, its odour was expected, strong during the censuring, faint the rest of the time, and a discrete but stubborn reminder that a religious ceremony had taken place.

Yet, it may seem surprising to find incense in such a prominent place in Christian Byzantine churches when it was so despised for its use in pagan sacrifices by early Christian writers. The Apologists, following some Biblical texts against sacrifices, have no word strong enough to condemn incense sacrifice<sup>1</sup>. Some authors, like Tertullian, even reprove incense selling since it can condone idolatry if it leads the buyers to sacrifice with it<sup>2</sup>. In the first three centuries AD, incense sacrifice had become the most common, and, with libations, one of the cheapest of all sacrifices<sup>3</sup>. Christian soon considered incense offering as a symbol for idolatry<sup>4</sup>. They insisted that the true worship of God in Christianity has nothing to do with incense. For these early Christians, material sacrifices proved a misunderstanding on the part of Jews and pagans on the true nature of God who, as a spiritual being, did not need or relish material offerings<sup>5</sup>. More often than not, up to

<sup>1</sup> The Letter of Barnabas, ed. R. A. KRAFT, Paris <sup>2</sup>1971, 82 (transl. F. X. GLIMM, *The Apostolic Fathers*. Washington, D.C. 1947, 192: Incense is an abomination to Me.).

<sup>2</sup> Tertullianus, *De idololatria* 2. Critical text, translation and commentary by J. H. WASZINK – J. C. .M. VAN WINDEN. Leiden 1987, 168.

<sup>3</sup> Propertius, *Elegies*, II 10, v. 24: *pauperibus sacris vilia tura damus*, transl. G. P. GOOLD. Cambridge–London 1990, 150–1; Heliodorus, *Ethiopica*, ed. R. M. RATTENBURY – T. W. LUMB. Paris 1938, 26.

<sup>4</sup> Jerome, *Ep.* 14, ed. J. Labourt. Paris 1982, I 38.

<sup>5</sup> Tertullian, *Apologeticum* 30, ed. J. H. WASZINK. Paris 1998, 152.

the fifth century, when Christian sermons and treatises mention incense, it is to reject it from Christian worship and condemn it for its sacrificial use<sup>6</sup>.

For a second reason references to incense were unpopular in early Christian writings. The sacrifice of incense was the easiest and most commonly required sacrifice during the persecutions against Christians. Incense was very much tainted with either the blood of the martyrs or, worse, with the fall of weaker Christians into apostasy. Even twelfth century Byzantine sources mention incense in connection with the martyrs. Theodore Balsamon (c.1140–after 1195) and John Zonaras (12<sup>th</sup> c.), both recall how persecutors used incense to force Christians towards making sacrifice, and apostasy<sup>7</sup>.

In the light of this well-publicised early Christian aversion towards incense, it should come as a surprise that incense eventually came to be widely used in late antique and mediaeval Byzantine churches. This change of attitude requires an explanation and a careful dating. Two questions remain unsolved: when was incense brought inside churches? The debate turns around Constantine, who, if we trust the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Romanae*, is responsible for offering censers, incense and spices to the newly erected Roman basilicas that he subsidised. Was Constantine offering something totally unknown to Christian churches and to Christian households or was it acceptable, for Christians, to receive such gifts because incense, spices and censers were commonly used by these same Christians and formed an important part of their material culture?

Few scholars have devoted attention to the Late Antique Christians' attitude towards incense and those who have studied incense have mostly studied either its trade<sup>8</sup> or its use in the Christian liturgy. From C. F. Atchley to M. Pfeifer, scholars of the liturgy have often traced the different steps of the introduction of incense in churches<sup>9</sup>. C. F. Atchley's study was a pioneer work and it stands out. Whenever he saw incense in a text, he made a note of it and that reference ended up in one of his neatly arranged chapters. His approach was functionalist and it represented the first attempt at explaining the diverse uses of incense in mediaeval churches. Although Atchley warned scholars not to trust the *Liber Pontificalis* for the fourth century, and he dated the general introduction of incense inside churches to the fifth century, many scholars have followed L. Duchesne in dating the introduction of incense to the time of Constantine, and in relying on the authenticity of the Constantinian donations recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis Romanae ecclesiae*<sup>10</sup>. G. Dix notes the rejection of incense in the pre-Nicene Church but he does not marvel that the survivors of the Great persecution could celebrate their cult with incense<sup>11</sup>. R. Taft notes the absence of incense in the early Church, but he does not explain its subsequent presence in later centuries. He cites Atchley, Dix and Schneider on the subject<sup>12</sup>. Most scholars of the liturgy consider that incense made its entry into the churches along with other major changes brought by Constantine, such as the freedom to worship and the building of lavishly decorated basilicas. Since it was taken for granted in later centuries, none wondered why Constantine would offer something apparently so offensive to Christians. They recorded the change, but did not try to explain why censers could be accepted as a gift by the Roman church, if incense was such a despised product, shunned by Christians as conducive to idolatry.

<sup>6</sup> Augustine d'Hippone, *Vingt-six sermons au peuple d'Afrique*. Paris 1996. R. TAFT, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, II: The Great Entrance. A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Pre-anaphoral Rites (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 200)*. Roma 1978, 149.

<sup>7</sup> Theodore Balsamon (c.1140– after 1195), *PG* 18, 505 C; John Zonaras (12<sup>th</sup> c.), *PG* 18, 508.

<sup>8</sup> N. GROOM, *Frankincense and Myrrh. A Study of Arabian Incense Trade*. London 1981; F. DE ROMANIS, *Cassia, Cinnamomo, Ossidiana. Uomini e merci tra Oceano Indiano e Mediterraneo* Rome 1996; A. AVANZINI, *Profumi d'Arabia*, Roma 1997; D. P. M. WEERAKKODY, *Trapobanê. Ancient Sri Lanka as known to Greek and Romans (Indicopleustoi 1)*. Turnhout 1997; J. DESANGES, *Recherches sur l'activité des Méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique (VI<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.C.–IV<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.C.)*. Rome 1978; M. G. RASCHKE, *New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East*, in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, II, 9, 2. Berlin – New York 1978, 604–1378; for the early Middle Ages, M. McCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce, AD 300–900*. Cambridge 2001, 620, 716–19.

<sup>9</sup> E. g. C. F. ATCHLEY, *A History of the Use of Incense in Divine Worship (Alcuin Club Collections 13)*. London 1909; M. PFEIFER, *Der Weihrauch. Geschichte, Bedeutung, Verwendung*. Regensburg 1997.

<sup>10</sup> L. DUCHESNE, *Origines du culte chrétien. Etude sur la liturgie latine avant Charlemagne*. Paris 1920. L. DUCHESNE (ed.), *Liber Pontificalis, Texte, introduction, commentaire*. Paris 1955–1957.

<sup>11</sup> G. DIX, *The Shape of the Liturgy*. Westminster 1945, 311, 427.

<sup>12</sup> TAFT, *Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* 149–51; C. SCHNEIDER, *Studien zum Ursprung liturgischer Einzelheiten östlicher Liturgien. Kyrios* 3 (1938) 149–90.

If we are to agree that Constantine did offer censers and spices to the Roman churches, we have to explain why this was possible, and not offensive to Christians. It is important to understand what incense meant to Christians, leaving aside the pagan or Jewish religious use of incense. Sacrificial incense was not acceptable for Christians, but there were other, more mundane uses of incense and perfumes. This is where a study of material culture can help. Christians were not “foreign elements” within a society. Although most had completely abandoned the cults of the gods, they still shared traditions and a common understanding of what was good for their health and environment. In order to understand why incense, and more generally perfumes became part of the Christian religious culture, we have to turn to the role they played in ordinary life, in a domestic setting. To understand what value was granted to them, one should study not only their prices and availability but also the different occasions on which incense and perfumes were called for. This is the reason why this study will devote a section to the belief that incense and more generally good odours could drive away illnesses; then another section will study how this belief induced an altogether protective and pleasurable use of incense and perfumes into domestic or public settings. I will argue that it is this combination of beliefs and practices, which led Christians to maintain a purificatory use of incense in their houses and eventually in their churches. It is this type of use, which Constantine probably had in mind, if he really did offer censers the Roman Church, (as opposed to the sacrificial use of incense, which was only later, also introduced in the churches).

### 1) AIR PROPERTIES AND PERFUMED MEDICINES

Ancient people had a very strong sense of the influence of natural elements on their life. They paid attention to their environment because they strongly believed that it was the key to their well-being. This was particularly true of the air that surrounded them. The novelist Heliodoros explains that there is no way to protect ourselves from the influence of the air we breathe because it penetrates into us: “We are completely enveloped in air, which permeates our bodies by way of our eyes, nose, respiratory tract, and other channels, bringing with it, as it enters, various properties from outside, thus engendering in those who take it an effect corresponding to the properties it introduces. [...] Being composed of such fine particles, it penetrates to his bones, to his very marrow<sup>13</sup>.” The properties of the air and particularly its odours therefore were carefully watched. A common lore attributed malevolent powers to foul odours, as they were commonly believed to be the cause of diseases. They were not only disliked for their unpleasantness, but they were also held to be dangerous. Galen mentioned the danger involved in entering a house where the air was putrid<sup>14</sup>. The Hippocratic tradition taught that the corruption of the air was the only source of disease, and its followers refused to accept the idea of contamination by contact with a sick person<sup>15</sup>. The treaty *On Breaths* attributes the origin of all illnesses, including epilepsy, the sacred illness, to the air one breathed: “Epidemic fever has this characteristic because all men inhale the same wind; when a similar wind has mingled with all bodies in a similar way, the fevers too prove to be similar. [...] So whenever the air has been infected with such pollution as are hostile to the human race, the men fall sick.”<sup>16</sup> Diseases made the air malevolent to people explains Lucretius, “*fit morbidus aer*”<sup>17</sup>. Christians of the fourth century shared this point of view with the non-Christian

<sup>13</sup> Heliodorus, *Ethiopian Story*, transl. J. R. MORGAN, in: *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, ed. B. P. REARDON. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, 1989, 416 = Heliodorus, *Ethiopica* III 7, 3 ed. R. M. RATTENBURY – T. W. LUMB. Paris 1960, I 109: Ὁ περιεχόμενος ἡμῖν οὗτος ἀήρ δι’ ὀφθαλμῶν τε καὶ ῥινῶν καὶ ἄσθματος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόρων εἰς τὰ βάθη διεισδύμενος καὶ τῶν ἐξωθεν ποιότητων συνεισφερόμενος [...] τὸ παρ’ ἑαυτοῦ πνεῦμα πικρίας ἀνάμεστον εἰς τὸν πλησίον διερρίπισε, τὸ δὲ ἄτε λεπτομερὲς ἄχρις ἐπ’ ὁστέα καὶ μυελοῦς αὐτοῦς εἰσδύεται ...; Lucretius, *De rer. nat.* VI 802–803, explains that odors, especially strong fumes creep into the brain: *odor insinuat quam facile in cerebrum*.

<sup>14</sup> Galen, *De febrium differentiis*, ed. C. G. KÜHN. Leipzig 1833, VIII 279.

<sup>15</sup> M. D. GRMEK, *Les vicissitudes des notions d’infection, de contagion et de germe dans la médecine antique*. In: *Mémoires V. Textes médicaux latins*, ed. G. SABBAGH. Saint-Etienne 1984, 62: La notion classique d’infection était si étroitement liée à celle d’impureté au sens magico-religieux qu’on ne parvenait pas à intégrer les connaissances empiriques sur la transmissibilité des maladies dans le cadre doctrinal d’une médecine qui se voulait strictement rationnelle.

<sup>16</sup> Hippocrates, *Breaths* 6, transl. W. H. S. JONES. London–New York 1923, 234–235: ὁ μὲν οὖν κοινὸς πυρετὸς διὰ τοῦτο τοιοῦτος ἐστίν, ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα ταῦτό πάντες ἔλκουσιν; ὁμοίου δὲ ὁμοίως τοῦ πνεύματος τῷ σώματι μιχθέντος, ὅμοιοι καὶ οἱ πυρετοὶ γίνονται; [...] ὁπόταν μὲν οὖν ὁ ἀήρ τοιοῦτοῖσι χρωσθῇ μιάσμασιν, ἃ τῇ ἀνθρωπείῃ φύσει πολέμιά ἐστιν, ἄνθρωποι τότε νοσέουσιν.

<sup>17</sup> Lucretius, *De rer. nat.* VI 1097, transl. W. H. D. ROUSE. Cambridge – London 1966, 522.



members of society: “If they lived in a pestilential atmosphere, they were bound to fall ill for certain”, warned Eusebius<sup>18</sup>. For Christians, too, sickness rolled in with the winds. They too believed that foul air endangered their health.

Everything that smelt badly was deemed potentially dangerous as well as disagreeable. Lucretius even believed that there existed a tree whose stinking flowers could kill passers by<sup>19</sup>. Naturally, nothing frightened the people of the ancient world more than the terrible smell of rotten, corrupted matter. There was a real horror and fear of dead bodies, “for anything that is decomposing has an evil odour”, notes Theophrastus<sup>20</sup>. Fumigation by strong and powerful substances could help conceal this stench. Incense was burnt and perfumes exposed to the air while lamps and candles were lighted around the dead body lying in state. Survivors of a deceased person would purify the house of the dead by burning incense, and hoped thus to create a wall of smoke between death and themselves. By surrounding themselves with perfumes, they hoped to overcome the power of foul air.

From the belief in the aerial theory of the spread of diseases, and from the sickness-bearing power accorded to foul smell, there followed the crucial need to drive dangerous odours away by replacing them with agreeable scents, which were equally aerially mobile. Spices and fragrant herbs were believed to have curative powers partly because they were able to push away the deadly stench. As the Babylonian Talmud puts it: “the spices are to remove the bad smell”<sup>21</sup>.

Therefore fragrances were granted powers in the same way as foul odours were: they could penetrate the body since they mingled with the air or with liquids. Their primary use was to counteract the malevolent effect of bad smell, first as a preventive measure, and then as a medicine. This is why they were used as an antidote to the odour of death and the corruption of the flesh, as an almost universal ingredient in the cure of illnesses, and finally as a protective substance in everyday life. These ideas were not new, as Athenaeos reports: “Don’t you know that the sensations of our brain are soothed by sweet odours and cured besides, just as Alexis says in *Love-lorn Lass*: “A highly important element of health is to send good odours to the brain.”<sup>22</sup> From the Greek medical tradition and folklore they were also imported to Rome. At the time when a “plague” struck Rome in Commodus’ time, his doctors advised him to leave Rome and to go to a tiny place called Laurentium. “The doctors thought this place was safe, because it was reputed to be immune from infectious diseases in the atmosphere, by virtue of the redolent fragrances of the laurels and the pleasant shade of the trees there. The inhabitants of the city followed the doctors’ orders too, by filling their nostrils and ears with sweet scented perfume and by making constant use of incense and aromatic herbs. Some said that if sweet-smelling scent filled the sensory passages first, it stopped them (from later) inhaling the polluted air. If an infection were to get in, they said, the scent (then) drove it out by its greater potency.”<sup>23</sup>

During the periods of both of the Early and of the Later Roman Empire, Christians shared this idea that good odours could counteract the spread of illnesses and even cure them<sup>24</sup>. The third century writer, Clement of Alexandria, for example, admits that fragrances are healthy, particularly for the brain<sup>25</sup>. He recommends placing perfumes on the nose to cure common colds, or rubbing one’s feet with perfumed cream, in order to

<sup>18</sup> Eusebius of Caesarea, *Preparation for the Gospel* VIII 14, 23, ed. E. DES PLACES (SC 369). Paris 1991, 154–5: Καὶ γὰρ εἰ ἐν ἀέρι γεγένητο λοιμικῶ, πάντως ὥφειλον νοσῆσαι.

<sup>19</sup> Seneca, *Natural Questions* II 53: *Praeterea quocumque dedit fulmen, ibi odorem esse sulphuris certum est, qui, quia natura gravis est, saepius haustus alienat*, transl. Th. H. CORCORAN. Cambridge – London 1971, 182–3: there is a sickness-bearing power in lightning. [...] Wherever lightning has struck there is sure to be an odour of sulphur in the area, which disturbs the reason if inhaled too much. Lucretius, VI, 786–787, ed. cit., 498–510: *Est etiam magnis Heliconis montibus arbor / floris odore hominem taetro consueta necare*. = There is in the great mountains of Helicon a tree which is accustomed to kill men by the vile stench of its flower. On lightnings and sulphur, S. LILJA, *The Treatment of Odours in the Poetry of Antiquity*. Helsinki 1972, 199–205.

<sup>20</sup> Theophrastus, *Concerning Odours* 1, 2: ἅπαν γὰρ τὸ σηπόμενον κακῶδες, transl. A. F. HORT 328–9.

<sup>21</sup> Babyl. Berakhot, 53a; Homer, *Od.* IV 445, Idothea gives ambrosia to Ulysses and his companions to breathe in order to protect them from the stench of seals.

<sup>22</sup> Athenaeus, *Deipn.* XV 687: οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι αἱ ἐν τῷ ἐγκεφάλῳ ἡμῶν αἰσθήσεις ὀδμαῖς ἡδεῖαι πατηγοροῦνται προσέτι τε θεραπεύονται, καθὰ καὶ Ἀλεξίς φησιν ἐν Πονήρᾳ οὕτως; ὑγείας μέρος μέγιστον ὁσμάς ἐγκεφάλῳ χρηστὰς ποιεῖν.

<sup>23</sup> Herodianus I, 12, 2, transl. C. R. WHITTAKER. Cambridge – London 1969, I, 74–5.

<sup>24</sup> B. CASEAU, *Les usages médicaux de l’encens et des parfums. Un aspect de la médecine populaire antique et de sa christianisation*, in: *Air, Miasmes et Contagion. Les épidémies dans l’Antiquité et au Moyen Age*. Langres 2001, 75–85.

<sup>25</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.*, II 68 (110 MARCOVICH). Greek text and French translation C. MONDÉSERT, *Clément d’Alexandrie. Le Pédagogue* (SC 108). Paris 1991, II 134–38.



warm them and to draw blood away from the head. He believes perfumes can cure headaches and improve moods. He eventually concludes that perfumed ointments are excellent for one's health, and that perfumes should be used as a medicine, ὥσπερ φαρμάκῳ (hōsper pharmakō). In his mind, this was their *raison d'être*. When used for seduction or display, they were being misused and these uses should be shunned by Christians.

Fragrant spices and gum-resins were clearly not neutral products, they were deemed powerful and they belonged to both the world of medicine and to the world of folk remedies. Apuleius describes frankincense, cassia and myrrh as medicines in his *Apologia*<sup>26</sup>, and indeed, any book of medicine recommends those ingredients to cure a number of different ailments.

In the same way as modern medicines come in the form of syrups, pills or suppositories (with the same ingredients and power to cure) ancient perfumed medicines also took in different forms. They could be oil-based and liquid, they could be mixed to an emollient cream, also they could come in a solid form, or in a powdered form. Frankincense, for example, was used in fumigation, salve, potions and pills. It was also part of some oil-based perfumes and unguents. Medicines, efficient in liquid forms, also could be burnt as incense. One of the most famous perfumed medicines was called Kyphi<sup>27</sup>. It was deemed to have all sorts of beneficial properties. Plutarch states that Kyphi was used "both as a potion and as a salve; for taken internally, it seems to cleanse properly the internal organs, since it is an emollient."<sup>28</sup> The Syriac *Book of Medicines*, a compilation of Hippocratean medical knowledge, with four hundred prescriptions and a section on astrology, possibly written by a Nestorian physician, contained information about another fragrant panacea, bearing a slightly different name. It records a medicine called "Kûpar", effacious in the cure of hardness of the liver, pleurisy and coughs. It was made of gum of terebinth, of myrrh, spikenard, crocus, cinnamon, cassia and of a few other plants: "Dissolve the medicine which can be dissolved and the dried grapes in strong-smelling wine, pound the dry medicines and clean them, and melt the gum of terebinth with the honey, and mix them all together, and work up well and pour them into a vessel, and administer in some drink that is suitable for the particular disease. It may also be burnt like incense before the table, and its smell is very pleasant."<sup>29</sup> The idea that a medicine can be used both to cure and to create a pleasant atmosphere, reveals the profound polyvalence of ancient medicines. They could cure a specific ailment and at the same time bring about a general sense of well-being and of protection. The fact that they cured, protected and aroused a sense of pleasantness at the same time, was not perceived as being contradictory, but it was seen evidence of their effectiveness. Their fragrance alone was seen as a beneficial power. For example, besides the practical warming and sometimes soothing effects of spices used in salves to heal wounds, the aroma of the medicine was supposed to bring relief and to help to cure the wounded patient.

Incense represented a very popular preventive medicine, at time when the well recognized beneficial properties of perfume on the brain were added to the beneficial influence of the air one breathed upon one's health. Out of that combination of beliefs came the notion that diffusing perfume in the air not only refreshed a room, but also that it brought protection to those smelling it.

This idea was not new. It was long used in Egypt to refresh the air of temples. Plutarch describing the daily offering of incense in Isiac temples, helped to spread that knowledge. He explains how incense was used as an air-freshening tool "conducive to health."<sup>30</sup> Different types of incense were burnt for their specific properties, at different times of the day. Early in the morning, the priests burnt resin on the altars to revivify and purify the air that had become heavy and oppressive during the night; "fanning into fresh life the languished spirit innate in the body, in as much as the odour of resin contains something forceful and

<sup>26</sup> Apuleius, *Apologia* 32, ed. V. BÉTOLAUD, *Oeuvres complètes d'Apulée*. Paris 1873, 425: *ut si tus, et cassia, et myrrham, ceterosque id genus odores funeri tantum emptos arbitraris; quum et medicamento parentur, et sacrificio.*

<sup>27</sup> L. MANNICHE, *Sacred Luxuries. Fragrance, Aromatherapy and Cosmetics in Ancient Egypt*. Ithaca – New York 1999, 47–61.

<sup>28</sup> Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* 383, *Moralia*, vol. V: Τῷ δὲ κύφῃ χρῶνται καὶ πώματι καὶ χρίματι; πινόμενον γὰρ δοκεῖ τὰ ἐντὸς καθαίρειν ὡς χρὴ μαλακτικὸν ὄν, transl. F. K. BABBITT. Cambridge – London 1936, 188–9.

<sup>29</sup> *The Book of Medicines*, Ancient Syrian Anatomy, Pathology and Therapeutics, ed. and transl. E. A. W. BUDGE. Oxford 1913 (repr. London 2002) II 407.

<sup>30</sup> Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 383, *Moralia* V: τὰ πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἐπιτηδεύματα.

stimulating.”<sup>31</sup> Then, at midday, they burnt myrrh to counteract the copious exhalations coming from the earth and to protect the temple from pestilence. At nightfall, they burnt Kyphi, the famous compound incense, which was made of sixteen ingredients. Plutarch writes: “Most of the ingredients that are taken into this compound, in as much as they have aromatic properties, give forth a sweet emanation and a beneficent exhalation, by which the air is changed, and the body moved gently and softly by the current, acquires a temperament conducive to sleep; and the distress and strain of our daily cares, as if they were knots, these exhalations relax and loosen without the aid of wine.”<sup>32</sup>

We could argue that Plutarch’s description fits a religious tradition whereby incense was considered a sacrifice to the gods. But he reveals that the Isiac temples’ use of incense was meant to benefit the priests and not solely to placate the gods: “In their sacred services and holy living and strict regimen, the element of health is no less important than that of piety.”<sup>33</sup>

Although Isiac temples showed a sophistication in their use of incense, which may not have been matched elsewhere, the general knowledge of incense’s curative and protective powers was neither restricted to the world of learned priests, nor to the world of physicians. It was widespread. Incense was commonly used in houses where health matters were considered seriously and where means were not lacking. In pagan houses, incense could protect the living while pleasing the gods. It was used in a wealthy Egyptian house in the fifth century, the house of Gesios. Shenoute, *hegoumenos* of the White Monastery, and Gesios’ personal enemy, said that it was burning on the domestic altars devoted to his gods<sup>34</sup>. In Christian houses, it came to protect the living both from danger, and from illnesses and demons. In 526, the first action of the monk Zosimus, when he foresaw the coming earthquake that was to destroy Antioch, was to shield from destruction the house where he was staying, by lighting a censer in order to carry efficient prayers to God<sup>35</sup>.

## 2) DOMESTIC USES OF INCENSE AND PERFUMES

Greek literature, recorded for later generations, the beneficial power of perfumes and the difference means by which to purify a room<sup>36</sup>. Burning fragrant resins, spreading spices or sweet-smelling herbs aimed at disinfecting buildings, and at the same time, maintained a pleasant atmosphere. From the residence of Circe, fragrant smokes of cedar wood and thuya embalmed the air of the island and turned her cave into a centre of attraction<sup>37</sup>. We know from Euripides that burning incense was the daily task of servants, who cleaned the house and swept the floors in fifth century BC Athens<sup>38</sup>. In Roman times, such habits of air freshening were frequent, not only in the main living area, but also in the different rooms of the house. Pliny mentions a number of ways to perfume the rooms of wealthy villas. In *triclinia*, for example, water mixed with lemon verbena was spread before a meal, to make the meat appear more attractive<sup>39</sup>, and after the meal, to purify the air. “With this, writes Pliny, the table of Jupiter is swept, and homes are cleansed and purified.”<sup>40</sup> *Quin-*

<sup>31</sup> Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 383, *Moralia* V: καὶ τὸ σύμφυτον τῷ σώματι πνεῦμα μεμαρασμένον ἀναριπίζοντες, ἐχούσης τι τῇ ὁσμῇ σφοδρὸν καὶ καταπληκτικόν.

<sup>32</sup> Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 383, *Moralia*, vol. V, transl. *op. cit.* n. 25, 188–9.

<sup>33</sup> Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 383, *Moralia* V: ταῖς ἱερουργίαις καὶ ταῖς ἀγνεύαις καὶ διαίταις οὐχ ἥττον ἔνεστι τοῦ ὁσίου τὸ ὑγιεινόν, transl. *op. cit.* n. 25, 184–5.

<sup>34</sup> S. EMMEL, *From the Other Side of the Nile: Shenute and Panopolis*, in: *Perspectives on Panopolis. An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*, ed. A. EGBERTS – B. P. MUHS – J. VAN DER VLIET. Leiden 2002, 95–113.

<sup>35</sup> Euagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, 7.

<sup>36</sup> Ch. SINGER, *The Herbal in Antiquity and its Transmission to later Ages*. *JHSt* 47 (1927) 1–52; S. AMIGUES, *Etudes de botanique antique*. (*Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*). Paris 2002.

<sup>37</sup> Homer, *Od.* V 59–61.

<sup>38</sup> Euripides, *Phaeton*, fr. 773, 12–14, ed. R. KANNICHT, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, V/2. Göttingen 2004, 804–805: σαίρουσι δῶμα καὶ δόμων κειμήλια / καθ’ ἡμέραν φοιβῶσι κάπηχωρίους / ὁσμαῖσι θυμῶσιν εισόδους δόμων. S. LILJA, *The Treatment of Odours in the Poetry of Antiquity*. Helsinki 1972, 54.

<sup>39</sup> Pliny, *Historia naturalis* 25, 59, 107: *aiunt, si aqua spargatur triclinium qua maduerit, laetiores convictus fieri* = They say too that if a dining-couch is sprinkled with water in which this plant has been soaked the entertainment becomes merrier, transl. W. H. S. JONES. London – Cambridge 1956, 215–7. W. DEONNA – M. RENARD, *Croyances et superstitions de table dans la Rome antique* (*Collection. Latomus XLVI*). Bruxelles 1961, 41.

<sup>40</sup> Pliny, *Historia naturalis* 25, 59, 105: *hac Iovis mensa verritur, domus purgantur lustranturque*, *ibid.* 214–5.

*quefolium*<sup>41</sup> and saffron<sup>42</sup> were also used to clean domestic floors. Fresh flowers were strewn for their beauty as well as for their redolence; another case where purification and pleasure worked together. Luxury living included perfumes. In the third century, Elagabalus' imperial palace was a very fragrant place: he "would have perfumes from India burned without any coals, in order that the fumes might fill his apartments"<sup>43</sup>. "He used to strew roses and all manner of flowers, such as lilies, and narcissi, over his banqueting-rooms, his couches and his porticoes, and then stroll about in them."<sup>44</sup> Elagabalus was famous for living luxuriously, yet, only the quantities consumed by him were extraordinary; it was not uncommon for rich people to adorn the atmosphere of their house with balmy scents and beautiful flowers. For parties and especially for weddings, all sorts of perfumes were called forth. To prepare the marriage of emperor Honorius with Stilicho's daughter Maria, the poet makes the Goddess Venus issue some orders: "Let these haste to entwine the gleaming door-posts with my sacred myrtle. Do sprinkle the palace with drops of nectar and kindle a whole grove of Sabaeen incense."<sup>45</sup> These preparations and ways of describing weddings reach a long way back in time: Sappho's description of Hector and Andromache's wedding also includes the burning of myrrh, cassia and frankincense<sup>46</sup>. They were still common in sixth century A.D. Egypt: Dioskoros of Aphrodito, in an *Epithalamium* for Count Kallinikos, describes the rose-filled bedroom awaiting the new couple<sup>47</sup>. In all these cases, it is difficult to distinguish what is propitiation, what are pleasure and festive celebrations and what is creation of an erotic atmosphere, in this abundance of fragrances.

With adherence to these practices, the senses of sight and smell were delighted, while the mind was reassured that the air was safe. W. Deonna argued that the use of flowers, particularly at roses, on numerous floor mosaics symbolically rendered permanent their power of purification<sup>48</sup>. This argument should be remembered when interpreting flower ornamentation in churches.

One way to render the atmosphere of a house fragrant was to take care of the quality of the oil burning in the lamps. The oil used for the lamps was often of inferior quality<sup>49</sup>, and it was notorious famous for producing an acrid odour when burned<sup>50</sup>. Among the most common practices was to pour perfumed unguents into a variety of lamps. A few drops of unguents could transform this acidity into various sweet scents. Elagabalus had balsam-oil poured into the lamps<sup>51</sup>. Trimalchio uses the same perfume for his guests, and for the lamps<sup>52</sup>. The *Vita Silvestri* recommends that nard-oil be burnt in Roman basilicas<sup>53</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> Pliny, *Historia naturalis* 25, 62, 109: *adhibetur et purgandis domibus* = It is also used in purifying houses, *ibid.* 216–7.

<sup>42</sup> Petronius, *Satiricon* 68: *scobemque et minio tinctam sparserunt et, quod nunquam ante videram ex lapide speculari pulverem tritum*. Saffron was used therefore both for its fragrance and for its color.

<sup>43</sup> *Script. Historiae Aug., Ant. Elag.* 31, 4: *odores Indicos sine carbonibus ad vaporandas diaetas iubebat incendi*, transl. D. MAGIE. London, 1953, II 166–7.

<sup>44</sup> *Script. Historiae Aug., Ant. Elag.* 19, 7: *stravit et triclinia de rosa et lectos et porticus ac sic deambulavit, idque omniflorum genere, liliis, violis, hyacinthis et narcissis*, transl. *ibid.* II 144–5.

<sup>45</sup> Claudian, *Epithalamium*, v. 208–210: *hi nostra nitidos postes obducere myrto contendant; pars nectareis adspersite tecta fontibus et flamma lucos adolete Sabaeos*.

<sup>46</sup> Sappho II, 56, ed. Th. REINACH – A. PUECH, Alcée, Sappho. Paris 1937, 234: *μύρρα καὶ κασία λιβανός τ' ὄνεδέχυνντο* [Pap. Oxy. 1232, 3<sup>rd</sup> c.].

<sup>47</sup> L. B. B. MACCOULL, Dioscorus of Aphrodito, His Work and his World. Berkeley 1988, 88 = P. Cair. Masp. II 67179, l.12: *σὸν θάλαμον ῥοδόεντα*.

<sup>48</sup> DEONNA, *Croyances* (n. 39), 43: La rose servant à conjurer les sortilèges, il n'est pas surprenant que nous la rencontrions utilisée là contre le mauvais oeil et contre les forces nocives. Ainsi à El Djem un abondant tapis de roses, auxquelles se mêlent des oiseaux oiseaux, des masques bachiques, des flûtes de Pan, sert de champ à un médaillon représentant Vénus et des Amours dionysiaques, symboles des forces de vie, de fécondité, d'abondance.

<sup>49</sup> J.P. BRUN, L'oléiculture antique en Provence. Les huileries du département du Var. *Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise, Supplément* 15 (1986) 56; LILJA, *Treatment of Odours* 95.

<sup>50</sup> Juvenalis, *Sat.* V 86–88, p. 76–7: *at hic qui pallidus adfertur misero tibi caulis olebit lanternam* = the sickly greens offered to you, poor devil, will smell of the lamp"; Horace, *Sat.* I, VI, 123–24: *ungor olivo, Non quo fraudatis immundus Natta lucernis* = I anoint myself with oil – not such as filthy Natta steals from the lamps; Lucretius, *De rer. nat.* VI 791–3 mentions the potential danger lying in the acrid odor of lamps when the flame has just been extinguished: *Nocturnumque recens extinctum lumen ubi acri nidore offendit nares, consopit ibidem concidere et spumas qui morbo mittere suevit*.

<sup>51</sup> *Script. Historiae Aug., Ant. Elag.* 24, 1, transl. D. MAGIE. London 1953, II 153.

<sup>52</sup> Petronius, *Sat.* 70, 9: *Hinc ex eodem unguento in vinarium atque lucernam aliquantum est infusum*.

<sup>53</sup> *Liber Pontificalis, Vita Silvestri*, ed. L. DUCHESNE. II 173, *Oleus nardinus pisticus*.

Christians maintained the habits and practices of their ancestors. They did not renounce the use of perfumes and incense to refresh the air they breathed. Even Tertullian, who is not known for indulging in practices tainted with paganism, invites Christians to put flowers on their bed, if they enjoy it<sup>54</sup>, and he confesses about himself: “if the smell of any place offends me, I burn something from Arabia.”<sup>55</sup> In the late fourth century, when the poet Claudian describes ideal palaces, they are redolent with sweet smelling scents. The palace of Neptune is “all adorned with flowers”<sup>56</sup>. “In the midst [of the residence of Venus] is a courtyard rich with fragrant turf that yields a harvest of perfume; there grows sweet spikenard and ripe cassia, Panchaeon cinnamon flowers and sprays of oozy balm, while balsam creeps forth slowly in an exudative stream.”<sup>57</sup> These divine gardens were not far from what could be seen in Rome, itself<sup>58</sup>. It was not uncommon to see rich landowners embellish their urban gardens with exotic plants transplanted from other regions. “In many sections of the city, writes Columella, we see at one time cassia putting forth its leaves, again the frankincense plant, and gardens blooming with myrrh and saffron.”<sup>59</sup>

This obsession with beneficial odours also led the Romans to add spices and perfumes to wine and food. The sense of smell seemed to be as important as the sense of taste where food was concerned. This is why, when the food, in itself, was not fragrant, spices were added to it. The preservative capacity of spices was used above all to maintain the quality of food and wine, which was naturally a constant problem. Spices also could be chosen for their medicinal capacities. Salts, for example, could be spiced for therapeutic purposes. Apicius gives us a recipe that is supposed to work for everything: “These spiced salts are used against indigestion, to move the bowels, against all illness, against pestilence as well as for the prevention of colds. They are very gentle indeed and more healthful than you would expect.”<sup>60</sup> Wine provided a frequent ground for experimentation. Spices were mixed with wine to help in bettering and preserving its taste but also to lessen drunkenness<sup>61</sup>. Rose wine and violet wine proposed in Apicius’ cookbook, were, it seems, used as laxatives.

Odours were used to stimulate taste, says Plutarch<sup>62</sup>. They were also used for their specific curative or beneficial properties. Beyond the issue of taste lay something more important: preserving the food and protecting health and well-being.

### 3) INCENSE, MAGIC AND THE OTHER-WORLD

Besides the medicinal reasons for use of perfumes, and besides the existence of deeply entrenched habits, there was yet another reason for Christians to keep on using perfumes in their houses. A perfect aroma was, for the Christians too, an attribute of the divine. Perfumes were believed to be powerful elements of spiritual and divine beings.

This association of divine beings with perfumes is very ancient. The belief that God, gods and goddesses were themselves fragrant beings was in some degree shared by Jews, pagans and Christians. A few Old Tes-

<sup>54</sup> Liber Pontificalis, Vita Silvestri, ed. L. DUCHESNE. II 173, *Oleus nardinus pisticus*; Tertullian, De Corona militis V 3 (KROY-MANN).

<sup>55</sup> Tertullian, De Corona militis X 5, transl. E. A. QUAIN, Tertullian. Disciplinary, Moral and Ascetical works (*Fathers of the Church* 40). New York 1959, 253.

<sup>56</sup> Claudian, Epithalamium, v. 154–155, transl. M. PLATNAUER. London 1956, I 253.

<sup>57</sup> Claudian, Epithalamium, v. 92–96 (I 249): *In medio glaebis redolentibus area dives preebet odoratas messes; hic mitis amoni, hic cassiae matura seges, Panchaeaque turgent cinnama, nec sicco frondescunt vimina costo tardaque sudanti prorepunt balsama rivo.*

<sup>58</sup> Varro, Res Rusticae I 2, 10. P. GRIMAL, Les jardins romains à la fin de la république et aux deux premiers siècles de l’Empire. Paris 1943.

<sup>59</sup> Columella, On Agriculture III 8, 4: *compluribus locis urbis iam cassiam frondentem conspiciamus, iam tuream plantam, florentisque hortos myrrha et croco*, transl. H. BOYD ASH. Cambridge – London 1941, I 275.

<sup>60</sup> Apicius, Cookery and Dining in Imperial Rome, ed. and transl. by J. DOMMERS VEHLING. New York 1977, 54. The ingredients are: common salt ground, ammoniac salt, pepper, ginger, aminean bryony, thyme seed, celery seed, origany, saffron, rocket seed, marjoram, nard leaves, parsley and anise seed.

<sup>61</sup> Athenaeus, Deipn. XI 464, transl. Ch. BURTON GULICK. London 1927, 24–5, Book 2, 66. – Pliny mentions a mixture of myrrh and ashes of swallow’s beak in the wine: *Historia naturalis* 30, 51: *hirundis rostri cinis cum murra tritus et vino quod bibetur inspersus securos praestabit a temulentia*. = A swallow’s beak reduced to ash, beaten up with myrrh, and sprinkled on the wine that will be drunk, will free drinkers from fear of becoming tipsy.

<sup>62</sup> Plutarch, Advice About Keeping Well 126, in *Moralia*, vol. II, *ibid.*, 236–37.



tament texts give a basis to this idea, particularly one which describes the Wisdom of God, soon to be interpreted as the Holy Ghost: *Sicut cinnamomum et balsamum aromatizans odorem dedi, / quasi myrrha electa dedi suavitatem odoris; et quasi storax, et galbanus, et ungula, et gutta, / et quasi Libanus non incisus vaporavi habitationem meam, / et quasi balsamum non mistum odor meus*<sup>63</sup>. In early Christian writers, God himself is described as the perfect fragrance. Athenagoras calls God ἡ τελεία εὐωδία<sup>64</sup>, the ultimate fragrance. The same image appears in Irenaeus of Lyon: God does not need sacrifices, since “He is forever full of all goods, of all sweet smell and He has in himself all the vapors of fragrances.”<sup>65</sup> He is even the prototype of fragrance. In the Christian thought-world, wonderful fragrances stand for virtues, holiness and the divine. God’s dwelling and the saints’ residence in heaven is described as a fragrant place. When Symeon Stylites the Younger had a vision of the other-world, he saw “the garden of Paradise and the trees, and a palace of light, and a spring of perfume gushing on top of an arch built by God.”<sup>66</sup> As a result, whenever Christ or his messengers appear to those who will die shortly after, perfume is very often mentioned as a sure sign that the door of Paradise has been opened. When Symeon the elder was sick and close to his death, God looked after him so that, “the wind blew softly, and it was cool and balmy as though heavenly dew were dropping upon the saint. Pleasant fragrances exhaled and emerged from it, the like of which has not been told in the world. There was not one single odour, but wave upon wave came, whose several odours were different from one another, so that neither spices nor sweet herbs and pleasant smell which are in this world, can be compared to the fragrance of those waves; the result of the care and providence of God.” Perfume obviously played an important role in describing the Divine in Christian literature. This was not, however, specifically Christian.

In Graeco-Roman mythologies, wonderful life giving odour was also the attribute of some of the gods and a sign of their divinity<sup>67</sup>. For Homer, “the outstanding characteristic of Zeus, when he sits on Mount Ida, is fragrance.”<sup>68</sup> The late antique poet Claudian mentions Venus’ fragrant bosom<sup>69</sup>. Naturally, the fragrance of the gods was so powerful that it was spread upon whatever they touched wherever they went. A large area like Cyprus was scented, because of Venus’ supposed dwelling there. For Catullus, gods and goddesses smelt of an inimitable perfume, whose fragrance was such a marvel that anyone having smelt it would wish to be only a nose<sup>70</sup>. This divine perfume is sometimes referred to as “ambrosia”. It was for the gods, both their perfume and their food, since these divine beings fed up fragrances.

Because divine beings were rendered well-disposed when offered perfumes, it was a natural consequence that fragrances were used to manipulate them, both in temple rituals and in magical rituals. Temple pagan rituals included the offering of incense to gods and goddesses, who were supposed to relish feeding on perfumes. Magical papyri refer to incense as one of the fundamental ingredients used to make spells work. Different kinds of incense were prepared to suit each god’s taste: “The proper incense of Kronos is styrax, for it is heavy and fragrant; of Zeus, malabathron; of Ares, kostos; of Helios, frankincense; of Aphrodite, Indian nard; of Hermes, cassia; of Selene, myrrh. These are the secret incenses.”<sup>71</sup> Incense and spicy unguents were

<sup>63</sup> Ecclesiasticus 24, 20 in the Vulgate.

<sup>64</sup> Athenagoras, Embassy for the Christians XIII 2, ed. B. POUDERON, Athénagore, Supplique au sujet des Chrétiens et Sur la résurrection des morts (SC 379). Paris 1992, 110.

<sup>65</sup> Irenaeus of Lyon, Haer. IV 14, 3, ed. A. ROUSSEAU (SC 100). Paris 1965, 546: *est enim semper plenus omnibus bonis omnemque odorem suavitatis et omnes suaevolentium vaporationes habens in se*; in Greek: ἔστι γὰρ αἰεὶ πλήρης πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν πᾶσαν τε ὁσμὴν εὐωδίας καὶ παντοδαπὰς ἡδυόσμων ἀναθυμιάσεις ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ.

<sup>66</sup> La Vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (521–592), I–II, ed. et transl. P. VAN DEN VEN (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 32). Bruxelles 1962–70, I 29: εἶδε τὸν παράδεισον καὶ τὰ φυτὰ καὶ παλάτιον φωτὸς καὶ πηγὴν τοῦ μύρου ἐπὶ καμάραν θεοέργαστον ἀναβλύζουσαν.

<sup>67</sup> E. LOHMEYER, Vom Göttlichen Wohlgeruch. *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaft, Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 10 (1919) 1–32; W. DEONNA, Croyances antiques et modernes: l’odeur suave des dieux et des élus. *Genava, Bulletin du Musée d’Art et d’Histoire de Genève du Musée Ariana* 17 (1939) 168–262.

<sup>68</sup> Homer, Iliad 15, 153.

<sup>69</sup> Claudian, Epithalamium, v. 109–110 (I 251): *nati venientis conspicit umbram / ambrosioque sinu puerum complexa ferocem*.

<sup>70</sup> Gaius Valerius Catullus, ed. W. KROLL, Stuttgart 1968, Carmen 13, 11–14 (Ad Fabulum): *Nam unguentum dabo, quod meae puellae / Donarunt Veneres Cupidinesque; / Quod tu quom olfacies, Deos, rogabis, / Totum ut te faciant, Fabulle, nasum*.

<sup>71</sup> Papyri Graecae Magicae (PMG) XIII, 351–357, ed. K. PREISENDANZ – E. HEITSCH, Die griechischen Zauberpapyri, second ed. A. HENRICHS. Stuttgart 1974, 105, transl. in H. D. BETZ (ed.), The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation including the Demotic Spells. Chicago – London 1986, 172.

as clearly a part of a sorcerer's equipment as they were basic medicines<sup>72</sup>. They were used for their mediatory powers, for they carried the words of the spell to the gods and spirits. Incense, that is, usually either gum-resins or fragrant woods, was burnt while some magic words were pronounced. They were also used for their propitiatory powers since there was hope that the gods and spirits, being pleased by the sacrifice, would be willing to fulfil the spell. Incense could be used in a sacrifice, as a sacrifice, or as a tool to please the gods and to carry the spell. In a spell to meet a god, we can see this separation between sacrifice and incense offering: when you have sacrificed burn also the seven approved kinds of incense in which the gods delight, for the seven censings of the seven stars. The incenses are these: malabathron, styrax, nard, kostos, cassia, frankincense and myrrh. Take these and the seven flowers of the seven stars, which are rose, lotus, narcissus, white lily, erephyllinon, gillyflower, marjoram. Having ground them all to a powder, with wine not mixed with seawater, burn all as incense<sup>73</sup>.

The number of amulets and magical papyri of Christian origin indicate the heavy infusion of magic in Christian homes<sup>74</sup>. Aromatics were still called upon to work the magic, in a society where they were readily available<sup>75</sup>. While some Christians continued to practise magic in the traditional manner, trusting incense to carry to the spirits their binding message, others refused any practice involving the manipulation of demons they feared<sup>76</sup>. However, they kept on attributing to incense its beneficial properties. Their thought-world admitted an opposition between the divine, the good, the fragrant, and the demonic; between the evil and the fetid. They retained the ancient association between perfume and the divine world, an association, which is clear in the New Testament. Early Christian imagery is rich in references to fragrances and uses perfumes as a symbol: "we are the aroma of Christ to God" (2 Co. 2, 15) said Paul, talking about the Christians. From Origen to Gregory of Nyssa, the numerous spices and fragrances surrounding the beloved in the *Song of Songs*, stood for Christ's virtues<sup>77</sup>.

In that thought-world, if God and Paradise were the spring of all perfumes, evil and demons stood for stench. Christians eventually believed that demons could not tolerate perfumes, a reminder of Paradise and a token of God's sanctity. Incense and more generally perfumes became demonifuge. Demons and heresies, the work of their influence, "stank". Through the elaboration of a rhetoric of stench and fragrance applied to order the world into antinomies such as Hell and Paradise, sin and sanctity, evil and good, heresy and orthodoxy, the appreciation of fragrant substances, perfumes and incense, was transformed into a specifically Christian one. Where pagans considered that divine beings and spirits, gods and demons alike were pleased by incense<sup>78</sup>, Christians now made an insuperable distinction between godly fragrances, and demonic stench. Demons – including former gods – were no longer pleased by the smoke of incense, but they were driven away by the odour of Paradise which holy Christians used against them. The evolution of Christian writers' perception of fragrances is clear if we compare Origen who, in the third century thought that the simple fact of burning incense could please and retain demons on earth<sup>79</sup>, and Symeon Stylites the Younger, who in the

<sup>72</sup> J. SCARBOROUGH, The Pharmacology of Sacred Plants, Herbs, and Roots, in: Magika Hieria. Ancient Greek Magic and Religion, ed. Ch. A. FARAONE – D. OBBINK. New York – Oxford 1991, 138–74.

<sup>73</sup> PMG XIII, 351–357, ed. K. PREISENDANZ – E. HEITSCH, Die griechischen Zauberpapyri, second ed. A. HENRICHs. Stuttgart 1974, 105

<sup>74</sup> H. MAGUIRE (ed.), Byzantine Magic. Washington, D.C. 1995; E. DAUTERMAN MAGUIRE – H. P. MAGUIRE – M. J. DUNCAN-FLOWERS, Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House (*Illinois Byzantine Studies* II). Urbana – Chicago 1989, 32.

<sup>75</sup> Tertullian, Apologeticum 30: *grana thuris unius assis*. J. DESANGES, L'Antiquité, in: M. MOLLAT DU JOURDAIN – J. DESANGES, Les routes millénaires. Paris 1988, 110; L. R. LiDONNICI, Single-Stemmed Wormwood, Pinecones and Myrrh: Expense and Availability of Recipe Ingredients in the Greek Magical Papyri. *Kernos* 14 (2001) 61–91; V. NUTTON, The Drug Trade in Antiquity. *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 78 (1985) 138–45; J. INNES MILLER, The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire, 29 BC to AD 641. Oxford 1969.

<sup>76</sup> B. CASEAU, Myrrh Ink and Incense in the Magical Papyri, ed. E. IVison – S. TAKACS (to be published).

<sup>77</sup> P. MELONI, Il profumo dell'immortalità. L'interpretazione patristica di Cantico 1, 3. Roma 1975.

<sup>78</sup> Porphyre, De abstinentia II.

<sup>79</sup> Origen, Exhortation to Martyrdom 45, transl. J. J. O'MEARA (*Ancient Christian Writers*, 19), 188: Some people give no thought to the question of demons: that it to say, to the fact that these demons in order to be able to exist in the heavy atmosphere that encircles the earth, must have the nourishment of exhalations and, consequently, are always on the lookout for the savour of burnt sacrifices, blood and incense. [...] In my opinion, when there is question of crimes committed by these demons operating against men, they who sustain them by sacrificing to them will be held no less responsible than the demons themselves that do the crimes.



sixth century, used incense precisely to drive away those same demons<sup>80</sup>. Incense as fragrance had been Christianized in the period between their two lifetimes. The common sets of ideas concerning incense was adopted and adapted by Christians.

So far, we have explained why incense and perfumes could be used in Christian houses in the same way they had been used for health reasons in pagan houses. Whenever available, perfumes were poured into the oils of the lamps and when a crowd was gathered in one room, censers were very probably lit to dispel bad odours. It seems reasonable to assume that Christians maintained such a tradition even when they were gathering for cult reasons. However, this has been debated: because Christian writers only mention incense in a metaphorical way before the fourth century. The first sure attestation of incense inside a church dates back to the end of the fourth century in the Anastasis in Jerusalem. It is not possible to assert that incense was always present in churches before that date. It is even highly possible that in some churches, the odour of incense was considered offensive. In North African churches, Donatists had already accused Catholics of crypto-paganism and of leniency towards *turificati*, Christians who had offered a sacrifice of incense to pagan gods during the persecution. The last thing they needed in their churches was the odour of incense floating around to confirm the Donatists worst suspicions<sup>81</sup>. However, in other churches in Italy, Syria or Palestine, where such accusations were uncommon, incense may have been used in the usual prophylactic manner.

#### 4) INCENSE AND THE DEAD

There is yet another reason for the introduction of incense inside churches and it is linked to its use around the dead. Fumigation by incense was used at different stages of the funerals for its purificatory and prophylactic powers: it was used at home during the lying in state, then during the funerary processions, and finally inside the tomb. Incense was present wherever a location had been contaminated by death. The survivors of a deceased person would purify the house of the dead by burning incense, and they hoped to create, at the same time, “a wall of smoke between death and themselves”.

Incense was burnt and perfumes were exposed to the air while lamps and candles were lit around the body. Depending on the social status of the dead person, the body was exposed to visitors, sometimes at the entrance of the house, or, in the case of emperors, in a room of the palace. This exposure lasted from one day, for an ordinary poor citizen, to a week, for an emperor.

In funeral processions, the purification of the air was intended as a protection for the living, while inside the burial cave, it offered its apotropaic powers not only to the living, (visiting during the occasional festive gatherings), but also to the dead. Incense was supposed to keep demons at a distance. This practice is well attested by the numerous incense burners discovered in tombs. At different times during the year, family, or those persons in charge of the tomb, would gather for a meal and a commemoration of the dead. The success of these *refrigeria* is indicated by the graffiti and paintings present in Roman catacombs<sup>82</sup>. This was a time at which incense was probably welcome to refresh the confined air and to ward off demonic ghosts. It is possible that some of the censers found in the tombs were used during such gatherings and were left behind, in the same way that one deposits behind pots of flowers on contemporary tombs. These gatherings were an occasion upon which to make the required offerings to the deceased. Inscriptions sometimes explained how the deceased wished his tomb to be cared for: that is with flowers, incense, or with fragrant lights and so forth.

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For the demons and they that have kept them on earth, where they could not exist without the exhalations and nourishment considered vital to their bodies, work as one in doing evil to mankind.

<sup>80</sup> La vie ancienne de S. Syméon le Jeune (s. n. 66) II 6–7 (ch. 2).

<sup>81</sup> At the council of Carthage in 311–312, a bishop of Numidia had asked for the removal from the Church of those who had sacrificed, including *turificatores*, unless they had been reconciled after their penance: Ps-Augustinus, *Adversus Fulgentium Donatistam* 24, in: C. LAMBOT, L'écrit attribué à Saint Augustin *Adversus Fulgentium Donatistam*. *Revue Bénédictine* 58 (1948) 221: *Sicut ergo palmites infructuosi amputati proiciuntur, ita turificati, traditores, abhorrentes deo manere in ecclesia dei non possunt, nisi cognito ululatu suo per paenitentiam reconcilientur*.

<sup>82</sup> C. VOGEL, Le poisson, aliment du repas funéraire chrétien, in: *Mélanges offerts à Marcel Simon*. Paganisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme. Influences et affrontements dans le monde antique. Paris 1978, 234–5. Paulinus of Nola, Ep. 12; Augustine, Ep. 29, 10.

The deceased believed that they still needed protection, and some inscriptions insist on having constant demonifuge, as provided by the combination of light and fragrances. Demons and hostile forces were supposed to hate perfumes and light. Demons were always associated with bad odour. Therefore perfumes were very useful around tombs. They would protect both the dead and the living. This belief is ancient. A funerary inscription of the end of the first century, in Rome, asks for garlands and for a lamp constantly to be burning with nard<sup>83</sup>. Another inscription asks, that the freedmen of the deceased put violets and rose petals over the tomb, at the Parentalia and during two other festivals, and that they place a lighted lamp filled with incense on the tomb three times a month<sup>84</sup>.

Perfumes acted as well-wishing token for the dead. An inscription found in Rome expresses the hope of seeing the loved one reach a fragrant place: ἐν μύροις σοῦ, τέκνον, ἡ ψυχὴ<sup>85</sup>. Christians created their own Paradise as a fragrant garden, and they certainly felt at ease with perfumes around the dead. The *Passio Perpetuae* hints at the delicious scent of perfumes of Paradise<sup>86</sup>. Prudentius mingles Virgilian elements and Christian theology in his poetic description of Paradise<sup>87</sup>. In order to convince monks that they do not toil in vain, the *Regula Magistri* cites a vision recorded in the *Passio Sebastiani*, that describes Paradise as a splendid fragrant garden: “Herbs with saffron flowers spread a balmy air, from the fields waft the exquisite fragrances filling them. [...] Here winds carrying eternal life invade the nostrils. [...] Bushes produce cinnamon, and from the shrubs, balm springs up. The fragrance of the air diffuses pleasure to all of the body.”<sup>88</sup> Christian writers picked demonic stench and paradisiac perfumes in order to create a coherent world of opposites. Actual perfumes and smoking censers were brought to the tombs with this symbolism borne in mind. The Faithful brought lights and perfumes to the tombs of their loved ones. Light could replace darkness and evil, perfumes could push away both stench and demons. They also brought wine and food to share with the dead<sup>89</sup>. In some cemeteries, the Faithful could also honour the saints, by offering them perfumes; this was a way to express faith in their immortal life in the garden of Paradise.

Prudentius watched the Faithful come to the catacombs and pour down balsams on Saint Hippolytus’ tomb<sup>90</sup>. On saint Felix’s tomb in Nola, Paulinus of Nola reports similar offerings, unguents of nard-oil were mixed with the dust<sup>91</sup>, and perfumes also directly were poured inside the tomb<sup>92</sup>. Eventually, later saints’ lives mention incense as a common and welcome offering at the saints’ tombs. Before their martyrdom, saint Apater and his sister saint Iraï witness a vision of Christ accompanied by this promise: “even in the case of serious sinners, if they care to offer to your holy place, the day of your festival on earth, either bread, or wine, or incense, or sacred vessels, or oil, I shall wash away their sins, and I shall give their persons to you.”<sup>93</sup>

<sup>83</sup> F. CUMONT, Cierges et Lampes sur les tombeaux, in: *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, vol. V (*StT* 125). Città del Vaticano 1946, 41–47, 42.

<sup>84</sup> *CIL* 6.10248, cited in K. HOPKINS, *Death and Renewal*. Cambridge 1983, 233.

<sup>85</sup> *CIG* 6619.

<sup>86</sup> *Passio Perpetuae* 11, transl. H. MUSURILLO, *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*. Oxford 1972, 111.

<sup>87</sup> J. FONTAINE, Trois variations de Prudence sur le thème du Paradis, in: *Forschungen zur Römischen Literatur. Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Karl Büchner*, ed. by W. WIMMEL. Wiesbaden, 1970, 96–115 (repr. in J. FONTAINE, *Etudes sur la poésie latine tardive d’Ausone à Prudence*. Paris 1980).

<sup>88</sup> *Regula Magistri* 10, 13 (*SC* 105) 440–42: *ubi croceis gramina floribus redolent et alantes campi iucundis admodum odoribus pollent. Aerae ibi vitam aeternam habentes nares aspirant. [...] Cinnamomum illic uirgutta gignunt et balsamum arbusta prorum-punt. Odor aeris delectationes per omnia membra diffundet.*

<sup>89</sup> Augustine’s mother used to drink in honour of the dead and was surprised to be rebuked for doing so in Milan: Augustine, *Confessions* VII 2; B. CASEAU, *L’encens, la nourriture et les morts*, in: S. COLLIN-BOUFFIER – M. H. SAUNER, *L’alimentation méditerranéenne*. Aix-en-Provence (to be published).

<sup>90</sup> Prudentius, *The Crowns of Martyrdom* XI 194, ed. H. J. THOMPSON. Cambridge – London, 1953, II 318: *balsama defundunt*.

<sup>91</sup> Paulinus of Nola, Poem 18, transl. P. G. WALSH. New York 1975, 115: Others still can eagerly pour spikenard on the martyr’s burial place, and then withdraw the healing unguents from the hallowed tomb.

<sup>92</sup> Paulinus of Nola, Poem 21, 586–595, ed. G. de HARTEL – M. KAMPTNER (*CSEL* 30). Vienna 1999, 177. – Archaeology confirms these practices. The Roman cemetery “*inter duas lauras*” has revealed a circular hole made in one of the pavement closing a tomb. This is probably a conduct used to pour perfumes or wine inside the tomb. Similar examples have also been found in some bricks closing the loculi inside the catacomb, J. GUYON, *Le cimetière aux deux lauriers. Recherches sur les catacombes romaines*. Rome 1987, 336–7.

<sup>93</sup> *Actes des Martyrs de l’Egypte*, ed. and transl. H. HYVERNAT. Hildesheim – New York 1977, 92–9.

Censers and perfumes had always been present around the dead, whether they were pagan, Jewish or Christian. The Christian offering of perfume and burning of incense certainly accompanied the entry of the saints' relics into churches. Sixth century sources, both in the West and in the East, reveal that censers were often kept at the disposal of the Faithful around saints' tombs. Before Symeon Stylites the Younger was born, his mother asked saint John the Baptist to grant her a child: and she came to his church in Antioch, took a censer, and glazed into it enough incense to fill the church with fragrant smoke<sup>94</sup>. Pilgrims intended incense to convey their prayers to the saint. It was the right tool to reach beyond the well-guarded doors of Paradise.

The reasons why incense was found inside late Antique churches are indeed numerous. Incense purified the air, and it had a positive impact on health. Incense was also charged with symbolic powers, bringing closer earth and heaven, either as a reminder of Paradise awaiting the Faithful or as a means of communication with the other world. All these good reasons account for its presence in fifth and sixth century churches situated around the Mediterranean sea. Yet, up to the sixth century, incense was still sometimes perceived as potentially pagan. The previous connection it had with pagan cults and with magical practices remained alive in peoples' memories. It is a strong possibility that in the early fourth century, such a pagan connection must have been made. The memory of the martyrs, who had died for refusing to offer incense to the pagan gods was also on Christian minds. How likely is it that, in order just to please a Christian bishop, Constantine had offered ostentatious censers?

### 5) THE USE OF INCENSE IN THE ROMAN BASILICAS

In the *Vita Silvestri* of the *Liber Pontificalis*, compiled in the sixth century, the emperor Constantine is the donor, who lavishes precious vessels and objects of art on the newly erected Christian basilicas of Rome, as well as donating properties to provide future revenues. These were shining new basilicas. Imperial generosity ensured that they glittered with gold and silver. Fragrances added their own touch of splendour to the beautiful decoration. Not only were censers offered, but also spices to burn, and incomes to provide for them. Great care was taken to make fragrant the space of these Christian buildings, as a detailed study of what was offered can show.

Under the title of "adornment of the basilica"<sup>95</sup>, it is specified that the oil burning in the chandeliers offered to the Constantinian basilica should be pure nard-oil: *oleus nardinus pisticus*<sup>96</sup>. Nard was chosen for the exquisite fragrance that came out of it. Pliny explains that nard holds a foremost place among perfumes<sup>97</sup>. Many plants, resembling Indian nard, were used for purposes of adulteration<sup>98</sup>; this is why the *Liber Pontificalis* defines the quality of perfume required for the basilicas: pure, unadulterated nard oil. In Pliny's time, unadulterated nard cost 100 denarii per pound. However, nard oil could be cheap to buy when it was made from Gallic Nard<sup>99</sup>. There is no way to tell what kind of nard oil was burning in the Roman basilicas. Nard could be imported from Syria, Gaul, Crete or India, and its price and odour differed with its origin. Indian nard was the most expensive, it was subject to the 25% import duty, according to the Red Sea or Alexandrian customs tariff, which was incorporated in the Digest<sup>100</sup>. Although pure nard from India could reach 100 denarii per pound, Gallic nard was only three denarii per pound in Pliny's time<sup>101</sup>. Nard oil was produced from the stem or the leaf of the plant, (it was also called *foliatum*, leaf unguent)<sup>102</sup>, and from other ingredients such as amomum, behen oil, iuncus, perhaps lemon grass, costus, amomum, myrrh and balsam<sup>103</sup>. Dioscorides provides

<sup>94</sup> La vie ancienne de S. Syméon le Jeune (s. n. 66) II 46, n. 10.

<sup>95</sup> Liber Pontificalis, Vita Silvestri, ed. L. DUCHESNE I 173.

<sup>96</sup> Liber Pontificalis, Vita Silvestri, ed. L. DUCHESNE I 173.

<sup>97</sup> Pliny, Historia naturalis 12, 26, 42: *De folio nardi plura dici par est ut principali in unguentis*.

<sup>98</sup> Pliny, Historia naturalis 13, 2, 16.

<sup>99</sup> Pliny, Historia naturalis 15, 7, 30.

<sup>100</sup> INNES MILLER, The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire 88–92.

<sup>101</sup> Pliny, Historia naturalis 12, 26, 43 and 46.

<sup>102</sup> Pliny, Historia naturalis 13, 2, 15.

<sup>103</sup> Pliny, Historia naturalis 13, 2, 15.

the list of ingredients: to nard, add costum, amomum, myrrh and balsam. Gregory of Nyssa was aware that “one fragrant herb called nard gives its name to the whole mixture”<sup>104</sup>.

Nard oil was a well-known perfume, commonly burnt in lamps of secular buildings. However, the choice of nard to fill Christian churches with its scent may have carried a religious meaning. In the *Song of Songs*, nard is the perfume that the bride effuses when the King is present<sup>105</sup>. Nardinus, unguent made with nard, is also the very same perfume which, when it was spread on Christ at Bethany, filled the house with its sweet odour<sup>106</sup>. Gregory of Nyssa in his Third Homily on the *Song of Songs* connects the two references: “If the nard of the Gospel has any relationship to the bride’s perfume, we may consider that precious, ‘genuine nard’ poured on the Lord’s head which filled the entire house with its sweet odour. In all likelihood this perfume did not differ from the perfume that gave the bride the scent of her spouse. [...] In the context of the Song of Songs, nard brings the scent of the bridegroom to his bride, and, in the Gospel, the sweet odour of Christ which fills the house becomes the anointing of the whole body of the Church in all the universe and in the whole world. Perhaps one may find a connection between these two passages.”<sup>107</sup> Nard could be interpreted as the perfume offered to the Lord as well as a symbol of the perfume of the Church, his bride. The fact that it was strong enough to fill the house, where the Lord was anointed, with love and humility was one more reason to choose nard. It was also among the ingredients of the sacred incense offered in the Jerusalem Temple, which is known from the Rabbinical tradition. The list in the *Liber Pontificalis* does not provide any reason for the choice of these objects and spices. However, it is plausible, without “over theologizing”, that the choice of nard was based on Biblical references. We cannot recapture the odour that came out of the lamps, but we know it was a sweet and powerful scent meant to fill the space. Nard oil was the combustible of at least 47 chandeliers in the Constantinian basilica that is the present San Giovanni in Laterano.

Nard oil was not the only fragrant unguent burning in the basilicas. Constantine promised an annual gift of 150 lb. of spices, to be burnt in front of the altar: *donum aromaticum ante altaria, annis singulis lib. CL*. This gift is mentioned just after the present of two gold censers, *thymiateria*, weighing 30 lb. The censers were clearly meant to burn these spices in front of the altar and Constantine’s donations took care to include the necessary ingredients. We know from the plurality of the spices offered, that this incense was a compound product. Unfortunately, we do not have details about the spices. Incense was not relegated to the corners of the church, but the two censers were placed in the most sacred part of the building, that is next to the altar.

Another set of fragrance bearing gifts was meant to ornament the baptistery. A “censer of finest gold with 49 prize jewels, weighing 15 lb.” was offered<sup>108</sup>. Not only did incense waft in the baptistery, but Constantine offered “in the middle of the Font, a porphyry column that supports a golden basin in which there is a candle, of finest gold, weighing 52 lb., where at Eastertide 200 lb. of balsam is burnt, while the wick made of coarse earth flax.”<sup>109</sup>

For the basilica dedicated to St Peter, the donation includes a censer of finest gold, decorated with 60 jewels and the following items of property to provide the church with spices: “in the suburbs of Antioch: the property Sybilles, presented to the emperor, revenue 322 *solidi*, 150 decads of paper (*charta*), 200 lb. spices, 200 lb. nard-oil, 35 lb. balsam; in the suburbs of Alexandria: the property Trimalca, given to the emperor Constantine by Ambrionius, revenue 620 *solidi*, 300 decads of paper, 300 lb. nard-oil, 60 lb. balsam, 150 lb. spices, 50 lb. Isaurian storax; [...] In Egypt, in the territory of the city of Armenia: [...] the property Passinopolimse, revenue 800 *solidi*, 400 decads of paper, 50 *medimni* of pepper, 100 lb. saffron, 150 lb. storax, 200

<sup>104</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, Commentary on the Song of Songs, transl. with an Introduction C. McCAMBLEY. Brookline 1987, 83.

<sup>105</sup> Song of Solomon 1, 12: my nard gave forth its scent; A. ROBERT – R. TOURNAY – A. FEUILLET, *Le Cantique des Cantiques*. Traduction et commentaire. Paris 1963, 86–7.

<sup>106</sup> Jn., 12: 3 and Mc., 14: 3.

<sup>107</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, Commentary on the Song of Songs, transl. *op. cit.* 87.

<sup>108</sup> The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis), The Ancient Biographies of the first ninety Roman Bishops to AD 715, transl. R. DAVIS. Liverpool 2000, 17.

<sup>109</sup> Liber Pontificalis, ed. L. DUCHESNE I 174: *In medio fontis columna porphyreatica qui portat fiala aurea ubi candela est, pens. auro purissimo lib. LII, ubi ardet in diebus Paschae balsamum lib. CC, nixum vero ex stipula amianti.*



lb. cassia spices, 300 lb. nard-oil, 100 lb. balsam, 100 sacks of linen, 150 lb. cloves, 100 lb. cyprus-oil, 1000 clean papyrus stalks.”<sup>110</sup>

The first question to ask concerns the reliability of the *Liber Pontificalis* about these donations. Are we dealing with true if clumsy copies of texts kept in the archives at the time of the redaction of the *Vita Silvestri* in the early sixth century?<sup>111</sup> Or do we have an imaginary reconstruction of the donations made to Pope Silvester by the Emperor Constantine, after Rome had been ransacked and the precious vessels of the basilicas had been stolen?<sup>112</sup> Or again is the list based on what could be seen in late fifth century basilicas? The problem does not concern the erection of the basilicas, usually admitted, nor the *massae*, the domains given to provide the different churches with revenues, (although one of the arguments for the genuineness of the donations lies precisely on these domains); but it concerns the type and the shape of the objects offered to the basilicas. Let us state the problem. Christian writers of the second and third centuries, present an image of Christian communities devoid of specific buildings and sacred vessels. They also insist on the fact that God neither needs incense nor any material offering. Then, suddenly, with the “Peace of the Church”, buildings appear, along with richly decorated vessels, including censers to burn incense. All this is in stark contrast to the simplicity of the existence of Christian communities, as depicted by the Apologists. How can we explain such a change? Some authors believe in the genuineness of these donations, others doubt it and they would prefer to see there an image of Theodosian basilicas. Their arguments are as follows.

Those against a Constantinian date for the donations depicted in the *Vita Silvestri*, insist first on the fact that the Eusebian *Vita Constantini* does not mention statues or objects given to the Roman basilicas<sup>113</sup>. Another argument lies in the style of the objects depicted. It is believed that ornamentation should have excluded sculpture at this time, while, in the donations, we hear of statues of Christ surrounded by the angels and the Apostles<sup>114</sup>. Even R. Krautheimer, who considers the donations genuine, finds the *fastigium* with its figural decoration, out of place in a fourth century basilica: “The only item of dubious date listed in the *Liber Pontificalis* among Constantine’s donations to the Lateran basilica is, in my opinion, the *fastigium*. Its figural decoration, statues of Christ doctor mundi and the twelve Apostles facing the congregation, and Christ in majesty flanked by angels carrying spears, suggest at the present state of our knowledge, a date after the middle of the century. Or could the beginnings of three-dimensional figural groups antedate their appearance in mosaic and painting?”<sup>115</sup> Statues had been closely related to idolatry based upon knowledge of their role in pagan worship. Therefore it would be a major change to introduce statues in a Christian basilica, at a time when such ambiguous objects might have been regarded as dangerously closely related to pagan practices<sup>116</sup>. Even if we were to accept images of Christ and the Apostles, angels with spears also are mentioned among the statues. The representation of angels known from paintings and sarcophagi do not include spears, nor indeed wings, at this time<sup>117</sup>. Their mere mention points to a later date very probably. Having incense burning so close to statues would indeed have been an imitation of pagan

<sup>110</sup> The Book of Pontiffs 19–20 (translation slightly modified).

<sup>111</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. DUCHESNE CXLVIII: Ce sont donc bien des documents d’archives et même des documents relatifs à la fondation des églises et à leur première dotation que nous avons sous les yeux quand nous lisons ces énumérations du *Liber pontificalis*.

<sup>112</sup> Most of the objects donated by Constantine had disappeared in the hands of Alaric and Genseric in 410 and 455. Some of them were not replaced, especially the statues of *fastigium*: S. de BLAAUW, Imperial Connotations in Roman Church Interiors: the Significance and Effect of the Lateran Fastigium. *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* XV (2001) 137–46.

<sup>113</sup> R. GRIGG, Constantine the Great and the Cult without Images. *Viator* 8 (1977) 3–4.

<sup>114</sup> J. ENGEMANN, Der Skulpturenschmuck des ‘Fastigiums’ Konstantins I. nach dem *Liber Pontificalis* und der ‘Zufall der Überlieferung’. *Rivista di archeologia cristiana* 69 (1993) 179–203.

<sup>115</sup> R. KRAUTHEIMER, The Constantinian Basilica. *DOP* 21 (1967) 11–140, 130, n. 47.

<sup>116</sup> B. CASEAU, ΠΟΛΕΜΕΙΝ ΛΙΘΟΙΣ (Polemein Lithois). La désacralisation des espaces et des objets religieux païens durant l’Antiquité tardive, in: *Le sacré et son inscription dans l’espace à Byzance et en Occident. Etudes comparées*, sous la direction de M. KAPLAN (*Byzantina Sorbonensia* 18). Paris 2001, 61–123.

<sup>117</sup> D. E. ESTIVILL, La imagen del angel en la Roma del siglo IV: estudio de iconología. Rome 1994; G. PEERS, Subtile bodies. Representing Angels in Byzantium. Berkeley 2001; G. STUHLFAUTH, Die Engel in der altchristlichen Kunst. Freiburg–Leipzig 1897.



cultic practices, when all the Christian authors of this period vehemently reject the worship of inanimate objects.

Many scholars, however, have followed L. Duchesne in accepting the genuineness of the donations reported in the *Vita Silvestri*. We have in Eusebios' *Vita Constantini* the plan of the emperor for the church to be built on Golgotha. It was "to outshine the finest buildings in any city"<sup>118</sup>. Indeed, when Egeria saw it some fifty years later, it was richly decorated<sup>119</sup> and it had vessels of gold and silver<sup>120</sup>. Incense burning in portable censers filled the basilica with fragrance on Sundays<sup>121</sup>. We lack a precise description for the Lateran basilica, but we can plausibly assume that the emperor had the same type of arrangements for his Roman foundation as for that in Jerusalem<sup>122</sup>. We have the testimony of Jerome on the ornamentation of Roman basilicas in the second half of the fourth century. He cites marbles, gilded ceilings and precious stones glittering on Church vessels<sup>123</sup>. Jerome reproves such display of wealth, but apparently the common opinion against which he raises his voice is that rich vessels followed Biblical usage: these Churches were the heirs of the Temple of Jerusalem. Jerome cites the rich liturgical vessels of the Temple, the altar, the lamps, the censers, and the other precious utensils used for the ritual ceremonies<sup>124</sup>. Although he himself considers such display of wealth to belong to the pre-Christian past, a time when God approved of blood sacrifices, his testimony reveals that everyone was far from happy to share his ideas. There was a strong wish to set up a formal and splendid liturgy in Roman basilicas and incense would perfectly fit in such a picture. The model that came to their mind was that of the first Temple of Jerusalem<sup>125</sup>. It is particularly revealing that the word used in the *Liber Pontificalis* to designate the donated censers, "*thymiamaterium*", is a rare word that would be used in the Vulgate to refer precisely to the censers of the Jerusalem Temple<sup>126</sup>. This however could also point to a late date for the redaction of the donations.

Other arguments in favor of the donations can be drawn from the text itself of the *Vita Silvestri*<sup>127</sup>. Ch. Pietri, following, L. Duchesne, the editor<sup>128</sup>, A. Piganiol<sup>129</sup> and A. Alföldi<sup>130</sup>, all make the point that inventing such precise donations would have required a very talented and knowledgeable person since the geography revealed is very exact. The locations of the domains given to the different churches match the political geography of the beginning of the fourth century. To the Lateran basilica, he gave domains only in the Western parts of the Empire that he ruled at the time of the foundation in 313. To Saint Peter's basilica, he granted domains in the East that he had ruled since 324.

Other details may reveal that the compiler had an early fourth century document to work with<sup>131</sup>. The redactor of the *Liber Pontificalis* knew that Egypt still belonged to the Diocese of the Orient, which was true

<sup>118</sup> Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, III 30.

<sup>119</sup> *Itinerarium Egeriae*, ed. P. MARAVAL (*SC* 296). Paris 1982, 25,9 (252): *Nam quid dicam de ornatu fabricae ipsius, quam Constantinus sub praesentia matris suae, in quantum vires regni sui habuit, honoravit auro, musivo et marmore prezioso.*

<sup>120</sup> *Itinerarium Egeriae* 25, 8 (252).

<sup>121</sup> *Itinerarium Egeriae* 24, 10 (242): *ecce etiam thymiateria inferuntur intro spelunca Anastasis repleatur odoribus.*

<sup>122</sup> KRAUTHEIMER, *Constantinian Basilica* 11–140, 135–6.

<sup>123</sup> Hieronymus ep. LII, *Ad Nepotianum presbyterum*, ed. J. LABOURT. Paris, 1951, II 185: *marmora nitent, auro splendent lacunaria, gemmis altare distinguitur.*

<sup>124</sup> Hieronymus, *op. cit.*: *Neque vero mihi aliquis opponat dives in Iudaea templum, mensam, lucernas, turibula, patellas, scyphos, mortariola et cetera ex auro fabre facta.*

<sup>125</sup> The theme of the Temple of Jerusalem opposed to the true temples inhabited by God, as found in the New Testament is reused by Caesarius of Arles to justify selling the liturgical vessels and ornaments of the church equated to the Temple in favor of Christian prisoners of war: *Life of Caesarius of Arles*, 32, transl. J. N. HILLGARTH. Prentice Hall 1969, 38: he even had the ornaments of the temple sold for the redemption of the true temple of God.

<sup>126</sup> It is used in the Vulgate (Jer., 52, 19) along with *thymiaterium*, and in Ambrose, Ep. 4, 3; *De Sacramentis* IV 1.

<sup>127</sup> Ch. PIETRI, *Evergétisme et richesses ecclésiastiques dans l'Italie du IV<sup>e</sup> à la fin du V<sup>e</sup> s.: l'exemple romain*. *Ktema* III (1978) 318–21.

<sup>128</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. DUCHESNE CXLVII–CLIV.

<sup>129</sup> A. PIGANOL, *L'empereur Constantin*. Paris 1932, 112.

<sup>130</sup> A. ALFÖLDI, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome*. Oxford 1969, 130, n. 17.

<sup>131</sup> The expression *nomen christianorum* to mean the Christian community; the mention of a military camp abandoned by the *Legio Parthica* II, an insignificant event unlikely to remain in the memory unless written in a document; names of the *massae* and *fundi* ...

up to 386 at the latest<sup>132</sup>. Finally, the fact that the rather clumsy copyist added to the imperial donations others made in the time of Constantine to the churches of Ostia, Albano, Capua and Naples, suggests that he was copying from archives rather than that he was creating an inventive reconstitution of treasures. When copying from his manuscripts, he was not consistent: sometimes we hear of the domains given to provide revenues to a church, and sometimes not. He listed Church vessel in some cases and not in other cases. It has been argued that a forger had no reason not to be systematic in his forgery. The other hypothesis is that our redactor was noting what he could see in early sixth century basilicas, but in this case such omissions, particularly concerning Church plate, would not make sense either.

Cl. Brenot is in favor of the genuineness of the donations, and she brings out the point of view of the numismatist. She notes that the revenues are given in solidi, which is a practice that started around 309/310. However, the text also mentions tremisses, which appear to be used from around 380 and are only common around the reign of Theodosius II and Valentinian III<sup>133</sup>.

If these donations are genuinely Constantinian, then the interior furnishing of these newly erected Roman churches departed from tradition and bore the mark of an imperial style. S. de Blaauw suggests (s. n. 112) that the statues of the Lateran *fastigium* may have been accepted as a gesture of imperial benevolence in the fourth century, but were not replaced after their destruction at the hands of invading Barbarians, because statues were not easily accepted inside churches in Late Antiquity. If censers were indeed lit around the altar, the smoke rising towards statues, what would Christians have thought? Could they accept this setting as part of the imperial gift, without frowning at its pagan connotation? J. Elsner thinks that it is indeed possible that different Christian styles were present around the Constantinian era, clearly showing emulation of decorative schemes of other religions<sup>134</sup>. Statues would fit in this diversity. If the whole donation is genuine, then we have to agree that Constantine imparted a very original and personal style to these churches, even to the point of risking bruising Christian sensibilities with armed angels looking like victories and standing censers, when Christians had recently died for refusing to offer an incense sacrifice.

It is very unlikely that Constantine would have offered a type of object deliberately offensive to the Christians. Even if he was a recent convert, he was not unaware of what constituted acceptable church plates. He had advisors on that issue, possibly Silvester himself<sup>135</sup>. When he decided to provide funds and materials for the building of a church in Jerusalem, he ordered the local officials to grant to the bishop whatever he needed. The bishop was clearly in charge<sup>136</sup>.

After two centuries of opposing imperial orders to offer a sacrifice of incense in front of imperial images, a sudden obedience to the introduction of incense as Imperial insignia, seems difficult to imagine of the same Christians. Incense, more than any other product, was tainted with the blood of martyrs. We therefore can exclude the idea that Constantine pushed censers inside churches to mark them as imperial territory. This would have been offensive and clumsy. The only acceptable use for incense inside such buildings would have been the purificatory one.

Mostly what Christians refused, was the sacrificial use of incense. God did not need sacrifices such as those offered by pagans and Jews. There is no trace of formal opposition to the purificatory use of incense. Since incense was known for its good medicinal properties and was widely used in domestic settings, it is very possible that it was used, also inside the vast Roman basilicas. It seems, however, more likely that the introduction of incense took place later in the fourth or even in the fifth century, when pagan altars had “stopped smoking” with their own sacrificial incense, and by which date a Christian understanding of incense

<sup>132</sup> In 386 Polemius Silvius wrote a catalogue of provinces in which Egypt belongs to a diocese distinct from that of the Orient, cf. *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. DUCHESNE CL.

<sup>133</sup> Cl. BRENOT, De l’or et des épices pour l’Eglise: à propos des fondations romaines de Constantin. *Bulletin de la société nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1999, 91–5; Ph. GRIERSON – M. MAYS, Catalogue of Late Roman Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks and in the Whittemore Collection. Washington, D.C. 1992, 33.

<sup>134</sup> J. ELSNER, Archaeologies and Agendas: Reflections on Late Ancient Jewish Art and Early Christian Art. *Journal of Roman Studies* 93 (2003) 114–28 at 127

<sup>135</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, Vita Silvestri, ed. L. DUCHESNE, 176 (var. from Ms E): *Item huius temporibus fecit aug. Constantinus ex rogatu Silvestri episcopi basilicam beato Petro.*

<sup>136</sup> KRAUTHEIMER, Constantinian Basilica 139: The bishop was responsible for the evaluation of the needs in material and workers, the imperial chancellery providing with materials not available locally and skilled labor. The bishop was to lay all requirements to be met by the building and its furnishing. This certainly included the type of Church vessels wished for by the bishop.

and of spices had had time to develop. By that time, the holy remains of the saints had started to make their entrance inside churches. The burning of incense during funeral banquets was perceived as natural<sup>137</sup>. The complex symbolism of incense as a reminder of Paradise, had been expressed in the poetic voices of Ephrem and Prudentius. Hagiography was soon to develop the notion of the apotropaic powers of incense. The time was ripe to introduce censers into Christian basilicas. The idea of propitiatory incense re-emerged. Incense began to be offered to God or to a saint in order to grant health and the remission of sins. The gradual acceptance of this practice coincides with the collapse of paganism, as seen, for example, in the destruction of temples: since pagan sacrifices had ceased to be offered, propitiatory offerings of incense in a Christian context could no longer be ambiguously interpreted as an idolatrous act<sup>138</sup>.

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<sup>137</sup> Paulinus of Nola, Ep. 12; Augustine, Ep. 29, 10.

<sup>138</sup> Since this article was written, new books have appeared: S. ASHBROOK HARVEY, *Scenting Salvation: Ancient Christianity and the Olfactory Imagination*. Berkeley 2006; H. BRANDENBURG, *Ancient Churches of Rome from the fourth to the seventh century. The Dawn of Christian Architecture in the West*. Turnhout 2005. The author does not question the presence of incense inside Constantinian churches. On the text of *Liber Pontificalis*, see H. GEERTMAN (ed.), *Il Liber Pontificalis e la storia materiale*. Rome 2003.

ATHANASIOS DIAMANDOPOULOS

## The Effect of Medicine, in particular the Ideas about Renal Diseases, on the “Well-being” of Byzantine Citizens

At first sight it is rather strange that a conference on “Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium” should include a topic about a medical specialty. Medicine, tiptoeing hesitantly between the realm of sciences and that of humanities, is not automatically classified as “Material Culture”. On second thoughts, there are arguments from medicine’s past and present, which plead in favour of such an inclusion.

The most famous of all the existing ancient medical Greek codices is the *Materia Medica*, which was written by the 1<sup>st</sup> cent. AD medical writer Dioscurides, and then copied in Constantinople, at the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent<sup>1</sup>. As its title shows, medicine cannot be practised without the use of material substances, the medicaments, which are minutely listed in the text. It is tempting, however, to add, that Galen the most prolific and most self-assured of all ancient medical writers, found Dioscurides’s Greek grossly inferior, but he, at least, accepted that the medical information in *Materia Medica* was correct<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand the over-all aim of medicine is to prevent the destruction of people’s sense of well-being and to restore it when in decline during times of a disease. Hence, I think that such a topic is relevant to the conference. Before we proceed to the specific role of nephrology (i.e. the medical specialty dealing with kidney ailments) I will present some general characteristics of Byzantine medicine, and I will outline why an interest in it has arisen<sup>3</sup>.

Usually, there are two ways to view the science and practice of medicine during the Middle Ages in the eastern part of the Roman Empire. From an ideological standpoint, some may claim that the theocratic nature of Byzantine society led to a “standstill” in the development of medicine. Diseases were thought of as the proper divine punishments for a person’s sins; hence these should be accepted and the patient should only ask for forgiveness. This view was in fashion, mainly after the Enlightenment, as the specific expression of a more general anti-clerical and anti-eastern stance, of the then cultural establishment. It cannot be supported on strictly scientific reasoning, although it is a view still expressed in several books on the history of medicine. From a purely medical point of view, an extensive amount of work has been done to highlight the rights and wrongs of Byzantine medicine in comparison to modern medicine.

In this article I will limit my subject to the relationship in Byzantium between medicine and the general, not strictly medical, Well-Being of the people. I suggest that the theoretical and practical aspects of medicine created a feeling of reassurance for the educated elite and the laymen alike, and this led to an absence of uncertainties, and thus, to a feeling of Well-Being.

On theoretical grounds the bodily functions and their deregulation were explained in parallel with what was happening in the Universe as a whole. The world was composed from four elements, the warm, the cold, the dry and the humid (i.e. from the air, the fire, the earth and the water). And on the one hand the air is warm and humid, and on the other hand the fire is warm and dry; also the earth is cold and dry, while the water is cold and humid. Accordingly, *man the microcosm*, was composed from the four elements; from the warm, the cold, the dry and the humid; from blood, yellow bile, black bile and phlegm<sup>4</sup>. The events in the external

<sup>1</sup> Pedanii Dioscoridis Anazarbei De materia medica libri quinque, ed. M. WELLMANN. Berlin 1906–1914 (Reprint 1958). J. M. RID-  
DLE, Dioscorides on pharmacy and medicine. Austin/Texas 1985; O. MAZAL, Der Wiener Dioskurides. Codex medicus graecus 1  
der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Teil 1–2 (*Glanzlichter der Buchkunst* 8/1–2). Graz 1998.

<sup>2</sup> Galen, De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus V 12 (XI 303–304 KUHN).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. in general I. BLOCH, Byzantinische Medizin, in: Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin, I, edd. M. NEUBURGER – J. PAGEL. Jena  
1902, 492–588; G. K. PURNAROPOULOS, Συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν της βυζαντινής ιατρικής. Athens 1942; O. TEMKIN, Byzantine  
Medicine: Tradition and Empiricism. *DOP* 16 (1962) 95–115; Symposium on Byzantine Medicine. Proceedings, ed. J. SCARBO-  
ROUGH (= *DOP* 38). Washington, D.C. 1984; H. HUNGER, Medizin, in: IDEM, Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner,  
II (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* XII 5, 2). München 1978, 285–320; J. SCARBOROUGH, Medicine. *ODB* II 1327–8; E.  
KISLINGER – R. VOLK, Medizin / Byzantisches Reich. *LexMA* VI 459–64.

<sup>4</sup> Meletios, Peri tes tou anthropou kataskeues I (III 11–12 CRAMER). See also below 97 with notes 43–47.

macrocosm, thus, could explain the events in the human body's microcosm<sup>5</sup>. This method of thinking was very old, starting in the Greek world with the pre-Socratic natural scientists, continuing with Aristotle, and then further elaborated in Late Antiquity. It was adopted full-heartily by the Byzantines because it fitted in with the hierarchical kind of thoughts of Christian faith, with Christian beliefs about the role of Provenance. Generally, the Byzantines did adopt the practices of ancient and Hellenistic Greek medicine and they thought themselves the rightful heirs of the Greek culture.

On practical grounds, the main differences between ancient and Byzantine vs. modern medicine is the very limited medicalization of society. It was not only the absence of bad habits like overeating, (hardly possible, with the 175 days of fasting during Lent and over other religious holidays), of binge drinking and narcotics that made the role of doctors less important, it was also the expectations people had of medicine. As a modern writer has declared: "Public health must divert itself of its biomedical conceptual foundations. The language of disease is not the language of well-being"<sup>6</sup>. Hippocrates himself, had declared that the role of medicine is only to aid nature when it fails to keep a person in a normal state of health. As his Byzantine commentator Theophilos<sup>7</sup> wrote, doctors should not try always to impress with their "modern" abilities, which much later was called *neomania*, but to leave Nature to do its job<sup>8</sup>.

Another factor was the wide accessibility of various medical means (e.g. baths and medicaments). Most of the drugs, at least the simple ones, were very easily accessible. To refer only to two categories, herbs and bodily products were in every day use. Animals provided their bones<sup>9</sup>, skin<sup>10</sup> and fat<sup>11</sup>. Although we read recipes including many exotic ingredients (e.g. hyena<sup>12</sup>, eagle<sup>13</sup>, leopard or lion<sup>14</sup>), there were serious doubts even then, as to if the products of such animals were superior at all to the products from common domestic animals such as hens and cats<sup>15</sup>. Accordingly, the poorest inhabitants of the Empire had access to a huge collection of drugs, which were called, exactly for this reason, *euporista*, (i.e. easily procured). These were equivalents of the modern kitchen-medicines. Again, this "availability", contributed to the feeling of Well-Being, as it created a kind of sense of social justice for the users of health facilities. The demand for simplicity in medicine paralleled the ethicists' preaching in favour of simple, hence honest foods<sup>16</sup>. Mainly the wise men of the village, or the old wives used these simple medicines, while the professional doctors were equipped with an array of more sophisticated therapeutic means<sup>17</sup>. Hence, the superior classes (e.g. the imperial court or the various magnates) had, apart from the simple cures, somewhat more sophisticated medicines at their disposal<sup>18</sup>. However, the geographical, social and educational distance between themselves and the laymen was great enough to proclude any comparisons. Galen had already commented on the suitability of the *euporista* medicaments mainly for the peasants and the lower classes, but not for the elegant men and women<sup>19</sup>.

The most *euporista*, the commonest items to be used as therapeutic and diagnostic agents to restore Well-Being, that is human skin and urine, will also be at the centre of our main argument. To write about uroscopy in Byzantium is simultaneously an easy and a difficult task. It is easy because many Byzantine codices on uroscopy still survive. It is difficult because no comprehensive history on the subject has appeared written

<sup>5</sup> A. DIAMANDOPOULOS – P. GOUDAS – A.H. DIAMANDOPOULOU–DRUMMOND, The human skin: A meeting ground for the ideas about macrocosm and microcosm in Ancient and Medieval Greek literature. *Vesalius* 7/2 (2001) 94.

<sup>6</sup> J. D' ORONZIO, The Integration of Health and Human Rights: An Appreciation of Jonathan M. Mann. *Cambridge Quarterly* 10/3 (2001) 237.

<sup>7</sup> HUNGER, *Medizin* 299–300.

<sup>8</sup> Theophilos, *Commentarii in Hippocrates aphorismos*, ed. F.R. DIETZ. Königsberg 1834 (Reprint Amsterdam 1966) II 288.

<sup>9</sup> Oribasios, *Collectiones medicae* XIV 38 (II 211–2 RAEDER); Aetius of Amida, *Libri medicinales* II 3 (I 155 OLIVIERI).

<sup>10</sup> Aetius, *Libri medicinales* II 162 (I 211 OLIVIERI).

<sup>11</sup> Oribasios, *Collectiones medicae* XIV 38.

<sup>12</sup> Oribasios X 23 (II 66 RAEDER).

<sup>13</sup> Oribasios X 23.

<sup>14</sup> Aetios, *Libri medicinales* II 218 (I 232 OLIVIERI).

<sup>15</sup> Pseudo-Dioscurides, *De venenis. Alexipharmaka* (De iis quae virus ejaculantur) 19 (SPRENGEL).

<sup>16</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia. De virtute et vitio* 100b–101e (II BABBITT); Pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa, *De creatione hominis sermo alter* 51a (HORNER, Leiden 1972).

<sup>17</sup> Oribasios, *Libri ad Eunapium* Introduction 1 (557 RAEDER [CMG VI 3]).

<sup>18</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitos, *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae* 467, 19 (REISKE) = Constantine Porphyrogenitos, *Three military treatises on imperial expeditions*, ed. J. F. HALDON (CFHB 28). Wien 1990, C 205 (106–8).

<sup>19</sup> Galen, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* X 22 (XII 298 KÜHN).



by a trained historian with a nephrological background<sup>20</sup>. The doctors were, and still are, just medical doctors with a special interest in the history of nephrology. Doctors did examine urine but they did not consider themselves mainly uroscopists. They did so in their broader duties as general doctors, although there were specialist technicians, or even doctors, who were involved only in the laboratory.

## EARLY BYZANTIUM (4<sup>TH</sup>–7<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES)

### A) SKIN

According to researchers of Byzantine medical history, this period begins with Oribasios from Pergamum (ca. 325–after 395/6)<sup>21</sup>. He emphasises that: “It is not useful to always cause perspiration in someone who is bathing. Because we often take to a bath not to deplete the body, but to moisten it all over when very dry”<sup>22</sup>. The skin’s amphidromic permeability is obviously familiar to Oribasios. The therapeutic methodology’s objective does not change in Oribasios’ texts compared with that of more ancient writers. The body’s cathartic insufficiency constitutes a significant cause of sickness, resulting in the accumulation of harmful substances.

Oribasios’ chapter 8 of his 10th book, is dedicated to the therapeutic use of sand baths. One of the indications, among others, is the *oidema*: “Heating through the sand is appropriate for asthmatic patients and for those who have rheumatic diseases in the chest and abdominal diseases, and podagra, and paralyzes, and cachexia, and oedemas, and any chronic painful illness. Suitable for therapy are all patients except for very young children.”<sup>23</sup>. Oribasios describes this method in detail beginning with the way the sand is prepared: “You, therefore, should dig two or three deep holes of equal size at dawn and let them become overheated from the sun”. He then moved on to the positioning of the patient, depending on the illness, and to the extra care to be taken (like covering the head so it did not get burnt from the sun’s rays or the administration of fresh water if necessary).” As for the dropsical patients, the number of days that it [a sand bath] takes place should be proportional to the volume that must be removed. The benefit from this you should examine twenty-one days later and after a break of two or three days you should start again”<sup>24</sup>. The detailed description shows that the method was widely spread and the details were based on experience and observation and not upon untried theories.

The period after Oribasios is rather poor in physician-writers up to the time of the 6<sup>th</sup> cent. AD. At that time there existed two great personalities, who excelled in medicine. The first was Aetios of Amida<sup>25</sup>, who wrote sixteen books in which therapeutics dominated, and with very few elements of anatomy and pathophysiology. Although they do not essentially differ from the writings by Oribasios and his predecessors, at certain points they do provide more insight into his personal views.

In his third book, and in the chapter on sand baths, he mentions that the objective of a sand bath, as well as other methods of body heating, is no other than the increase of insensible transpiration and perspiration: “the insensible transpiration it intensifies, and the sweat it extracts.” The benefit of this increase of insensible transpiration and perspiration, is evident “in dropsical and nephritic patients and in those who have developed a chronic disease of the cyst”<sup>26</sup>.

In Aetios’ work phlebotomies are also mentioned, as well as thermal baths and cupping, and all other methods for catharsis referred to by previous physicians. Aetios also reports his predecessor’s, Archigenes’, opinion on the use of baths to provoke perspiration<sup>27</sup>. In the chapter, “on oedemas”, he renders his own patho-

<sup>20</sup> See already A. A. DIAMANDOPOULOS, Uroscopy in Byzantium. *American Journal of Nephrology* 17 (1997) 222–7; IDEM, Musical uroscopy. Athens 1996; IDEM, History of Peritoneal Dialysis, in: Proceedings of the 2nd Symposium on Peritoneal Dialysis, Athens, Greek Nephrologic Society. Athens 1995, 17–32 (in Greek); IDEM – P. C. GOUDAS, The substitution of the renal function through skin catharsis, a clinicohistorical review. *Kidney International* 59 (2001) 1580–9. K. DIMITRIADIS, Byzantinische Uroscopie. (PhD) Bonn 1971; S. MALAKATES, Urology during the Byzantine Era. (Diss.) Athens 1993.

<sup>21</sup> HUNGER, *Medizin* 293–4.

<sup>22</sup> Oribasios, *Collectiones medicae* X 1, 19 (II 43 RAEDER).

<sup>23</sup> Oribasios X 8.1 (II 53 RAEDER).

<sup>24</sup> Oribasios X 8. 2, 14–5 (II 53, 54 RAEDER).

<sup>25</sup> HUNGER, *Medizin* 294–6.

<sup>26</sup> Aetios, *Libri medicinales* III 9 (268–9 OLIVIERI).

<sup>27</sup> Aetios III 166–167 (341–3 OLIVIERI).

physiological interpretation, and therapeutics for oedemas, which are described in detail as oedemas that leave a recess after exercising pressure, and which should be treated with increased perspiration<sup>28</sup>.

A generation later, another famous physician appeared, Alexander of Tralles<sup>29</sup> from Lydia, in Asia Minor (525–605). He identifies ascites from the “lurching as happens with a skinbag when one stirs the fluid that it contains”<sup>30</sup>, tympanites, which “when we beat it a sound is produced as occurs with a drum beating”<sup>31</sup>, and anasarca oedema from “the swelling of the entire body, which when it is pressed with a finger, a concavity is formed, and when we stop pressing it the concavity does not immediately assume its previous form”<sup>32</sup>.

Alexander’s observations are of great importance since he provides different treatments as regards each diagnosis, thus showing that he understands the existence of different pathophysiological mechanisms. Therefore, he concludes, if proper diagnosis is made then: “we treat ascites and tympanites with purgatives, whereas, for the anasarca oedema we also employ venesection if it is needed”<sup>33</sup>.

The early Byzantine period ends with Paul of Aegina (died after 642)<sup>34</sup>. Paul lived most of his life in Alexandria, Egypt. His auctorial work, entitled *Epitome iatrike* (epitomae medicae), contains pharmaceutical and other treatments that are in most cases a mere copy of previous authors’ views. Paul knows very well the consequences of a sudden loss of fluids, and he provides clear instructions with respect to the quantity that should be eliminated. In his description of abdominal catheterization for the relief of ascites we read: “Anyone interested in ensuring the patient’s safety, must remove a small amount of fluid with the operation so that the patient is relieved of the force exerted by his excessive weight, and as for the remaining fluid, this is eliminated with the use of medication that helps the body eliminate liquids, with sand-baths and sun-therapy, as well as by recommending him to abstain from drinking liquid and by eating dry food”<sup>35</sup>. The same warning about the amount of fluid removed was given by Hippocrates, (Aphorisms, ed. LITTRÉ VI 27), thirteenth centuries before Paulos. Then he continues recommending the warmed sand as a general drying substance for oedematous bodies<sup>36</sup>.

## B) UROSCOPY

Oribasios was personal doctor to the Emperor Julian the Apostate. He studied the various colours of urine and its prognostic value<sup>37</sup>. His work lacks the systematic approach of later authors.

Aetios of Amida, in *Libri medicinales V*, deals mainly with the prognostic and diagnostic value of uroscopy<sup>38</sup>, based on previous medical writers, as far back as Hippocrates. Aetios began his treatise by describing the physical characteristics of urine from healthy individuals. His observations on colour, consistency and odour are correct in every detail. He then proceeded to the description of urines in several pathologic conditions. The model became more complicated when it was compounded with the theory of the four humours. Thus, if black bile was in abundance during a febrile fat melting disease, the urine turned black and oily. Consequently, a great variety of combinations could possibly occur. The idea was ingenious and simple, although some times it bordered on the naive. It became the basis for all the subsequent uroscopic treatises in Byzantium, the Latin West and Islam. Depending on each writer, it was embellished either with very accurate observations or with an array of imaginary colours.

<sup>28</sup> S. ZERVOS, Αετίου Αμιδινού, Λόγος δέκατος πέμπτος (= Aetius Amidenus, *latricorum Liber XV*). *Athena* 21 (1909) 3–144, here 7–8.

<sup>29</sup> HUNGER, *Medizin* 297–9.

<sup>30</sup> Alexander of Tralles, *Therapeutica* X 1.1 (II 440, 1–2 PUSCHMANN).

<sup>31</sup> Alexander of Tralles X 1.1 (II 440, 3–4 PUSCHMANN).

<sup>32</sup> Alexander of Tralles X 1.1 (II 440, 4–7 PUSCHMANN).

<sup>33</sup> Alexander of Tralles X 1.2 (I 443, 1–3 PUSCHMANN).

<sup>34</sup> HUNGER, *Medizin* 302.

<sup>35</sup> Paul of Aegina, *Epitomae* VI 50 (II 89 HEIBERG).

<sup>36</sup> Paul of Aegina VII 3 (II 192 HEIBERG).

<sup>37</sup> Oribasios, *Synopsis ad Eustathium* VI 4 (186 RAEDER).

<sup>38</sup> Ed. OLIVIERI (*CMG* VIII 2) 19–25.

Paul of Aegina also correlated uroscopy with diagnosis. Following Hippocrates he stressed the need to compare any patient’s urine with urine from a healthy person, and he describes the several urine colours and their origin. He also wrote on the sediment, the cloud and the floating components of the urine<sup>39</sup>.

## MIDDLE BYZANTINE PERIOD (7<sup>TH</sup>–12<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES)

### A) SKIN

After the 7th century Byzantium gradually loses its philosophical and scientific prestige. There are minor references to earlier works in writings of a few scholars, such as Stephen of Alexandria and Meletios the Monk.

Stephen of Alexandria / Athens lived in Constantinople in the 7th century and taught in the “University”<sup>40</sup>. It is very likely that Stephen did not practise medicine, himself. However, he wrote many treatises and memorandums on Hippocrate’s, Galen’s and Aristotle’s works, as well as various works on philosophy and astronomy. In his treatise on Hippocrate’s *Prognostikon*, he makes a reference to the causes of perspiration. He also takes up Erasistratos’ ideas in as much as he writes: “The organ that produces sweat is the pores, through which this sweat comes, and the raw material is all liquid, that is, all juices that are in excess; this is proved by the colour, the taste and the smell of perspiration in the baths, as well as on the clothes of men who sweat, and which have various colourings, various tastes and various odours as they are generated by different fluids”<sup>41</sup>. Moreover, in his work “Enarratio Galeni de methodo medendi ad Glauconem librorum”, he describes baths and their uses<sup>42</sup>.

Meletios the Monk, who lived during the iconoclastic period<sup>43</sup>, was a conscientious compiler of famous ancient and Christian authors, as he himself clearly states. In his *Peri tes tou anthropou kataskeues*<sup>44</sup> he repeats Galen’s views and he speaks of three kinds of digestion: that which occurs in the stomach, that of the liver, and finally, that of the rest of the body: “The waste matter of the third digestion is derived from the entire body and is called perspiration. It is purified through insensible pores. And all that takes place, so that this waste is not accumulated in the course of time and becomes decomposed into the intestines thus producing harm to the animal”<sup>45</sup>. And in the chapter entitled “On the skin and hairs”, he writes with respect to the usefulness of skin: “It eliminates from the body all that is redundant and for this reason it is entirely covered with holes so that respiration and sweat excretion are made possible”<sup>46</sup>. He continues to perpetuate the age-old idea of the similitude between the microcosm and the macrocosm when he writes: “The creative or better yet, guardian nature, in caring for the animal it created by channelling pores through which the waste and muddy substances of the body are purified. For it knows that food is on one hand useful to the body, but also that it has wasteful elements, for this reason it invented these (pores) just as they, who care for cities, build sewers and streams, so that whatever waste matter is collected, it can be eliminated into lakes, rivers or sea”<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> Paul of Aegina, *Epitomae* II 13 (I 94–95 HEIBERG).

<sup>40</sup> HUNGER, *Medizin* 300–1; W. WOLSKA-CONUS, *Stéphanos d’Athènes et Stéphanos d’Alexandrie. Essai d’identification et de biographie*. *REB* 47 (1989) 5–89.

<sup>41</sup> J. M. DUFFY, *Stephanus the Philosopher. A Commentary on the Prognosticon of Hippocrates (CMG XI 1, 2)*. Berlin 1983, ch. 1, 11. Cf. W. WOLSKA-CONUS, *Les commentaires de Stéphanos d’Athenès au Prognostikon et aux Aphorismes d’Hippocrate: de Galien à la pratique scolaire alexandrine*. *REB* 50 (1992) 5–86.

<sup>42</sup> K. DICKSON, *Stephanus the philosopher and physician. Commentary on Galen’s Therapeutics to Glaucon (Studies in Ancient Medicine 19)*. Leiden–Boston–Köln 1998, 78–80 (ch. 23).

<sup>43</sup> HUNGER, *Medizin* 304–5.

<sup>44</sup> Ed. J. A. CRAMER, *Anecdota graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, III. Oxford 1836 (Reprint Amsterdam 1963) 1–157.

<sup>45</sup> CRAMER III 108.

<sup>46</sup> CRAMER III 132.

<sup>47</sup> CRAMER III 107–108. A. A. DIAMANDOPOULOS, *A history of natural membranes in dialysis*. *American Journal of Nephrology* 17 (1997) 304–14.

## B) UROSCOPY

Theophilus Protospatharios was considered the great authority on uroscopy in the Christian East and West during the Middle Ages. His popularity was due to the systematic method and the conciseness of his writings, and the fact they were translated early into Latin, by Constantinus Africanus, and that they influenced the School of Salerno. His treatise<sup>48</sup> was subdivided into various chapters. The third chapter was devoted to renal physiology according to Hippocrates, Galen, and Magnus of Emesa. The fourth chapter deals with the consistency of the urine and especially with its changes under mechanical force. In the sixth chapter twenty different colours of urine are presented, while in the seventh chapter several possible combinations of the thin consistency and of different colours, are explained. In the eighth chapter the combinations of the thick consistency and of ten different colours are presented, while the medium consistency (symmetric) was combined with discussion of only three colours in the ninth chapter. In the following chapters (10–13) the several solid particles, as well as the normal sediment, and the cloudy opacities, were discussed. The latter, were explained in accordance with Galen, by the action of the “undigested spirit” (*apecton pneuma*). Theophilus believed that it was possible for only five different colours of sediment to exist. In the next section he presented three tables with the combinations of white sediment, white suspension and white opacities, while in the following chapters he described the oily urines due to the melting down of the body’s adipose tissue. The following chapter dealt with the malodorous urine containing pus, and the ultimate chapter dealt with the combinations of a thick consistency with a thick red, dark red and black sediment.

Michael Psellos who lived in the 11th century acts as a very interesting case. He was not a medical doctor, but he was an excellent politician, historian, philosopher and poet with an encyclopaedic knowledge of medicine<sup>49</sup>. His *ponema iatrikon* is a long poem on medicine, in the iambic manner<sup>50</sup>. Psellos classified the urine during pathological conditions, into three categories, depending on its colour, consistency and sediment. Its sediment was then subdivided into three classes: the fatty, the fleshy, and the chalky. Eighty three lines in verses were used to describe the several combinations of these categories<sup>51</sup>.

LATE BYZANTIUM (13<sup>TH</sup>–15<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES)

One of the reports on the medicine of this period is found in the poem “On urines” by Nikephoros Blemmydes<sup>52</sup>, where in dealing with the disease the recommended methods for catharsis do not change: these are enemas, baths, embrocations<sup>53</sup>. Blemmydes, in his treatise, described thirteen different colours of urines. The text is a typical example of a canon composed of nine odes, each of which consists of 3–6 canticles, and they appear after Linear hymns (*stichera prosomoia*). Prior to each ode, the corresponding ecclesiastical canticle is quoted, according to how the specific ode should be chanted. Each ode of the poem is devoted to a particular colour, and to its pathologic, diagnostic and prognostic importance. Ode D, 9–12, for example, constitutes a keen description of severe acidosis, accompanied by hypocalcaemia and tetany, which are often encountered during the final stage of uraemia<sup>54</sup>.

Nikolaos Myrepsos<sup>55</sup> demonstrates a method of spa-therapy for very fat people, with which in a few days of increased perspiration, they thin and grow so much slimmer that “not even they who see them with their own eyes believe it”<sup>56</sup>. He, thus, recalls to our memory, advertisements of slimming centres, whereby use of diuretics, massage and saunas they also promise tremendous weight loss.

<sup>48</sup> Ed. I. L. IDELER, *Physici et medici graeci minores*, I. Leipzig 1841 (Reprint Amsterdam 1963) 261–83.

<sup>49</sup> R. VOLK, *Der medizinische Inhalt der Schriften des Michael Psellos (MBM 32)*. München 1990.

<sup>50</sup> Ed. J. Fr. BOISSONADE, *Anecdota graeca e codicibus regiis descriptis*, I. Paris 1829 (Reprint Hildesheim 1962) 175–232.

<sup>51</sup> Vv. 442–528 (BOISSONADE). VOLK, *Inhalt* 72–5.

<sup>52</sup> HUNGER, *Medizin* 311; *PLP* II 87–8 (no. 2897).

<sup>53</sup> Ed. A. P. KUZES, *Les oeuvres médicales de Nicéphore Blémmydès selon les manuscrits existants. Praktika Akademias Athenon* 19 (1944) 59–63. DIAMANDOPOULOS, *Musical uroscopy offers an english translation and extensive commentary*.

<sup>54</sup> “The patient’s tongue burns like a furnace and is laid down exhausted, as a worn-out chord, and he grinds his teeth, and when he is awake he stares sullenly”.

<sup>55</sup> HUNGER, *Medizin* 312; *PLP* VIII 90 (no. 19865).

<sup>56</sup> Nikolaos Myrepsos, *Peri syntheseos pharmakon*. National library Athens, codex 1478, f. 152 (A. EUTYCHIADES, *Εισαγωγή εις την βυζαντινήν θεραπευτικήν*. Athens 1983, 99).



John Zacharias “Aktuarios”<sup>57</sup>, an eminent Byzantine doctor, who was born ca. 1275, and who died (after) 1328, refers to the four digestions in his work “On urines by the wisest Aktuarios”<sup>58</sup>. This book is divided into seven chapters as follows: 1) On the differences of urines, 2–3) On the diagnosis of urines, 4–5) On the reasons of urines, 6–7) On the prognosis of urines. In his monumental treatise Zacharias explains the importance of cardiac, hepatic and cerebral function in the mode of Aristotle and Galen.

He classifies the three kinds of digestion, but he adds a fourth one, corresponding to the transformation of blood to flesh. The first digestion takes place “in the stomach”, and its waste products are excreted through the faeces and vomiting. The second takes place “in the pyle and the concave part of the liver”, and its waste products are excreted through the heterogeneous humours. The third digestion’s waste products are urine, and the fourth digestion, which is the conversion of blood into flesh, produces a substance, which is eliminated through the skin by insensible transpiration.

The urines are considered the products of the third digestion. John Zacharias also, elaborates on the differences of the urine’s characteristics between male and female healthy persons and also, on the influence of bodily and environmental temperature on urines. One of his main contributions to uroscopy, is that he recommends only high quality translucent glass should be used for uroscopy vials. He even invented a uroscopy vial divided into horizontal lines, thus, enabling the accurate location of any suspension and/or sediment. He suggested that the findings of the urines from particular sections of the uroscopy vial correspond to particular parts of the body.

John Zacharias’ treatise was, for five centuries, the basis of all the European works on uroscopy, although he never exaggerated the importance of uroscopy to such extremes as occurred in the West. On the contrary, he always emphasized the need to combine the findings of uroscopy with pulse-checking, and with the general physical examination.

Many of the empirical findings of Byzantine medical writers were later verified by scientific uroscopy. The oily appearance of urine when the patient’s adipose tissue is melting down was described by Aetios V 38 (II 23 Olivieri), by Psellos’ (lines 480–490 Boissonade), by Blemmydes (Ode H, Kuzes) and by others. The condition was named *pimelorrhe* from the word *pimeles* that Blemmydes uses for a fatty substance. However, even as late as 1875 this oily excretion in urines was also referred to as *pimelorrhe*<sup>59</sup>. Blemmydes discussed at length the importance of an oily film at the top of the urine (Ode B), and he called it *tsipa elaiode*. The reference to an oily film in urine sounds strange in a modern nephrological ward. But at least until the end of the nineteenth century it was mentioned in medical text-books as *pellicle* and it was considered to be the result of the interaction between the air in the environment, and several constituents of the urine, such as urates and kiestein<sup>60</sup>.

The use of someone’s own skin and urine for therapeutic and diagnostic purposes, mainly in renal diseases, was easily accessible, cheap and in many cases it produced good results. Moreover, it created a feeling of self-sufficiency, essential for a person’s well-being. Byzantine medical writers were surprisingly modern in their views concerning the meaning of well-being for their patients. It didn’t suffice for them to consider the restoration of the bodily health of their clients, but they also insisted “on a person’s balance of the natural, the psychological and the animal forces”<sup>61</sup>. Hence, they described health as “The balanced Well-Being”<sup>62</sup>. The idea is very similar to the progressive definition of health given by the World Health Organization at the declaration of Alma-Ata in 1978: “*Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social Well-Being*”.

<sup>57</sup> S. I. KURUSIS, Το επιστολάριον Γεωργίου Λακαπηνού – Ανδρονίκου Ζαρίδου (1299–1315 ca.) και ο ιατρός-ακτουάριος Ιωάννης Ζαχαρίας (1275 ca. – 1328;). Athens 1984–1988; A. HOHLWEG, Johannes Aktuarios: Leben – Bildung und Ausbildung – „De methodo medendi“. BZ 76 (1983) 302–21.

<sup>58</sup> *Peri ouron / De urinis*, ed. I. L. IDELER, *Physici et medici graeci minores*, II. Leipzig 1842 (Reprint Amsterdam 1963) 3–192. DIMITRIADIS, *Byzantinische Uroskopie* 55–64.

<sup>59</sup> A. BOUCHARDAT, *De la glycosurie ou diabete sucre: son traitement hygienique, avec notes et documents, sur la nature et le traitement de la goutte, la gravel urique, le diabete insipide avec excès d’uree, l’hippurie, la pimelorrhee ...* Paris 1875.

<sup>60</sup> L. BEALE, *Kidney Diseases, Urinary Deposits, and Calculous Disorders. Their Nature and Treatment*. London 1869, 297.

<sup>61</sup> Meletios, *Peri tes tou anthropou kataskheues* 47, 5–6 (CRAMER).

<sup>62</sup> Meletios 46, 29 (CRAMER).





ARCHIBALD DUNN

## Rural Producers and Markets: Aspects of the Archaeological and Historiographic Problem\*

In view of the current interest in patterns and levels of consumption in the Byzantine world, hence in aspects of the question of levels of material well-being experienced there, and in view of the fact that the better-known historical evidence for these makes strong reference to urban milieux and elite institutions (such as pious foundations), it is important not to neglect a broader underlying problem, namely the extent to which the mass of the population, that is the rural population, produced successfully enough to avoid that poverty (or “inelasticity”, to use Evelyne Patlagean’s term) in which they are often assumed to have lived. In one way or another this problem has not been neglected by Byzantinists, and the problem of urban milieux has found a place both in general works and works on Byzantine economic history<sup>1</sup>. There is also some recognition that at least some groups (communities and economic strata) of Byzantine peasants prospered given stable political and legal conditions and (one should add) stable climatic conditions<sup>2</sup>. One could say that a first part of the general question about the prosperity of the rural population has already become: what proportions of it could have enjoyed prosperity (however defined) and with what degrees of stability? This remains a very hard set of questions to answer. Most of the kinds of evidence, both historical and, necessarily and increasingly, archaeological, that one must now use to review the problem are still ambiguous, and certain assumptions have to be explicitly made when interpreting them. There could also never be one answer. The nature of the answer would vary according to the region being examined and the subdivisions of the Byzantine era being examined<sup>3</sup>.

For practical reasons I shall mostly refer to one major region, Macedonia, firstly because, for the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, the characteristics of its rural economy are by far the best documented in the Byzantine world, and, in the written sources, are becoming ever more so<sup>4</sup>. Secondly, Early Byzantine Macedonia’s rural economy, although not documented in the same way, is, one could argue, nevertheless becoming amenable to discussion in view of the great advances being made in the recording of rural archaeological sites of all kinds (not that its remaining urban sites are in any way irrelevant). The challenge of exploring the economic condition of the rural majority over the long term need not therefore be avoided. That task, on one level, is in fact in hand, although slightly “obscured” by the interdisciplinary framework (truly multi-period, and drawing on the findings of the environmental sciences and ethnography) within which it is conducted, and although not yet achieved for Macedonia. This level of analysis (“obscured” bibliographically by being conducted under various unfamiliar headings) is that of the relationship between economic outcomes, as represented by material-cultural remains, and the “constant” (but of course constantly variable)

\* This text was completed before I had access to the extremely important *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century, I–III (DOS XXXIX)*, ed. A. E. LAIOU. Washington, D.C. 2002, a work which contains its own critique of the historiography of the Byzantine economy. While it will be obvious that I agree with much of that critique there is much scope for disagreement with principal contributors’ collective ideas concerning the economy from the seventh century onwards (cf. for instance A. DUNN, Review Article. *Speculum* 80 [2005] 616–22).

<sup>1</sup> For a general work, C. MANGO, *Byzantium. The Empire of New Rome*. London 1979, 39–43; for a work of economic history, E. PATLAGEAN, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale: Byzance 4<sup>e</sup>–7<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris 1977, ch. 5, 156–235.

<sup>2</sup> For the climatic regime see A. DUNN, The exploitation of woodland and scrubland in the Byzantine world. *BMGS* 16 (1992) 252–3; J. KODER, Climatic change in the fifth and sixth centuries? In: *The sixth century. End or beginning*, eds. P. ALLEN – E. JEFFREYS. Brisbane 1996, 270–85; I. TELELIS, Medieval Warm Period and the beginning of the Little Ice Age in the Eastern Mediterranean, in: *Byzanz als Raum. Zu Methoden und Inhalten der historischen Geographie des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes*, eds. K. BELKE et al. (*VTIB* 7). Wien 2000, 223–43.

<sup>3</sup> PATLAGEAN, *Pauvreté*, for example is explicitly concerned with Syria, Palestine, and Anatolia in the early Byzantine period.

<sup>4</sup> See principally *Archives de l’Athos*, I – XXI. Paris 1970–2001.

factors being explored by ecologists, geomorphologists, palynologists, ethnologists, and others<sup>5</sup>. But the level of a concerted confrontation between models generated within that dialogue and current historical understandings of the Byzantine rural economy has yet to constitute a field of endeavour (unless perhaps for our early period alone, for some areas east of Antioch)<sup>6</sup>. Macedonia offers a wealth of historical, archaeological, and ethnographic material which has not yet been analysed within the framework of large-scale interdisciplinary projects<sup>7</sup>. But this same wealth allows us to conduct a “sondage” in which to at least explore the problems and prospects of a new history of the rural majority. The general historiographic context is the problematic one of building upon recent progress that is taking us beyond comparisons between earlier and later official and legal institutions and their functions in the economic sphere, and thus moving further towards more practical assessments of the economic circumstances experienced by rural producers<sup>8</sup>.

The unavoidable and immutable difference between the nature of the available evidence (historical *versus* archaeological) for subdivisions of the Byzantine era in Macedonia, which would also be a feature of the study of almost all provinces or regions, nevertheless must be briefly addressed. Facilitating the comparison between substantive conditions in the early and later periods in the countryside is further complicated by the clear fact that the subdivisions of the Byzantine era differ from each other *archaeologically* in the countryside in some important respects. In this situation, if Macedonia currently presents a challenge which it shares with only a very small group of regions (i.e., how to integrate Early Byzantine archaeology with later historical archives), the prospects for the comparative study of rural conditions over the long term for that great majority of regions for which archaeology will provide the only long-term evidence are potentially daunting. Any solution to the problems (in practice, on the ground, intertwined) of comparing conditions in the earlier and later periods, and of integrating interdisciplinary surveys and history, will have to involve the transposability of results. That is to say: approximately measurable sets of relationships (regional, subregional) between environmental conditions, settlement patterns, and their material cultural attributes, will have to be contrasted, and, wherever there are co-incidences between zones of interdisciplinary survey and archival documentation of the countryside, the results of the confrontation of data be used, with care, to evaluate the survey-derived evidence from historically undocumented regions. Such a confrontation of materials, followed by a transposability-test, is not yet feasible however<sup>9</sup>. If we consider regions to the south of Macedonia where many large-scale interdisciplinary surveys have already been conducted, the reasons why the earlier and later Byzantine evidence from (for example) Macedonia cannot yet be integrated within a single comparative framework should become clear.

The comparative material available for the earlier and later periods at the regional or Byzantine provincial level continues to be very inconsistent (perhaps only in the short term however) because, besides the virtual absence of Late Roman-to-Early Byzantine documents dealing with the Greek countryside<sup>10</sup>, the chronologically detailed findings of large-scale multi-period intensive surveys either await publication, or (for Southern Keos, Melos, and Aitolia, for instance) simply have not identified enough material from the Byzantine era to illuminate the long-term Byzantine dimension of the problem<sup>11</sup>. One such publication has so far illuminated

<sup>5</sup> Representative of this level would be: M. JAMESON – C. RUNNELS – T. VON ANDEL, *A Greek countryside: the Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the present day*. Stanford 1994.

<sup>6</sup> There have been methodological false dawns, symbolized by C. RENFREW – M. WAGSTAFF (eds.), *An island polity: the archaeology of exploitation in Melos*. Cambridge 1982.

<sup>7</sup> The multi-period interdisciplinary Strymon Delta Survey, in eastern Macedonia, does not deal with villages and agricultural landscapes as such: A. DUNN, *Loci of maritime traffic in the Strymon Delta (IV–XVIII cc.): commercial, fiscal, and manorial*, in: *Οι Σέρρες και η περιοχή τους από την αρχαία στη μεταβυζαντινή κοινωνία*. Thessalonica 1999, I 339–60.

<sup>8</sup> This complex challenge could be said to have first been truly faced only in the 1970s, in the work of PATLAGEAN (as cited) and in those of KONDOV, LEFORT, and LAIOU, although there had already been other breakthroughs, for which see below.

<sup>9</sup> A partial foretaste of the application of such an idea, principally to regions of Greece, but without reference to Byzantine archives, and so in the bibliographically obscured category, can be found in J. BINTLIFF, *Regional survey, demography, and the rise of complex societies in the Ancient Aegean: core-periphery, Neo-Malthusian, and other interpretive models*. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 24 (1997) 1–38.

<sup>10</sup> The cadastral inscriptions of Thera are exceptional. See G. KIOURTZIAN, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques chrétiennes des Cyclades de la fin du IIIe au VIIe siècle après J.-C.* (*Travaux et mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies* 12). Paris 2000, 212–43.

<sup>11</sup> This is not to question the value of either preliminary reports or of such provisional syntheses as T. VAN ANDEL – C. RUNNELS, *Beyond the Acropolis. A rural Greek past*. Stanford 1987 (for the Southern Argolid Survey), and J. DAVIS (ed.), *Sandy Pylos. An archaeological history from Nestor to Navarino*. Texas 1998 (for the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project).

the comparison between the subdivisions of the Byzantine era on a micro-regional scale however<sup>12</sup>. And, on the basis of preliminary reports, some of the larger Greek projects have unquestionably documented subdivisions of the Byzantine era in such a way as to illuminate the long-term problems outlined. Certain of their provisional findings concerning changing settlement-totals and access to fine wares are already useful<sup>13</sup>. But no attempt can be made here to contextualise this “sondage” of the Macedonian material (Early Byzantine archaeological; Middle-to-Late Byzantine textual) in the way that the subject ultimately requires.

What the recording of the archaeology of historic (Greater) Macedonia now reveals (but not as a result of intensive surveys) is several complementary aspects of an Early Byzantine phase of rural settlement which suggest long periods of economic stability based on sustainable combinations of agriculture, pastoralism, and, probably, of artisanal production across a variable but broad “front”. We find: in upland areas distributions of rural *refugia*, walled villages, and settled forts (or forts with attached settlements) which together indicate that the typical distance between organized communities was about 4km above the fertile plains. In fertile plains a similar distribution is now emerging at the level of large villages which can in two areas (the Plains of Philippi and Pella) be traced back to Roman *vici*, whilst between these villages (e.g., in the Plain of Pella) more detailed recording reveals farmsteads and perhaps *villae*, or centres of redistribution and exchange (e.g., in the Strymon Delta). The level of occupation of the plains of Macedonia at least equals that of the Roman era whilst the occupancy of the uplands by nucleated communities far surpasses that of the Roman era (when many upland sites were abandoned)<sup>14</sup>. Just as significant from the present perspective however is the remarkable evidence for the construction of professionally decorated churches with lime mortar-bonded walls at identified upland and lowland rural settlements, or at distributions which indicate their close association with as-yet unpublished or unidentified rural settlements. Preliminary publications of some of these clearly indicate two or three “waves” of construction in the fifth and sixth centuries<sup>15</sup>.

The intensity of rural church-construction recalls in significant respects archaeological discoveries in the uplands of Lycia and Cilicia, and the total record recalls in significant respects the archaeology of the uplands of Syria, the parallels in all three regions being Early Byzantine. In Syria too, it will be recalled, there is a high degree of continuity with Roman rural settlements, “waves” of expansion during the Early Byzantine period (up to the estimated limits of then-possible exploitation of such areas), and “waves” of monumental church-building in the countryside<sup>16</sup>. Georges Tate could argue that the constructional and occupational histories of the famous houses, and of the churches, indicate sustained periods of economic success<sup>17</sup>. Church-building will often have been the work of the most successful inhabitants, but could also be a collective undertaking<sup>18</sup>. Many of the inhabitants, it is argued, were enjoying the fruits of a successful and multi-faceted engagement with regional and long-distance exchange networks (whatever they owed to the administration or, perhaps, landlords)<sup>19</sup>. Archaeological enquiries of different kinds in Greece, the southern Balkans, Anatolia, and Syria, all including significant areas of perceived “marginal” land, therefore require us to seriously question the received opinion, sometimes argued, sometimes no more than an unsupported generalization, that the Early Byzantine farmer lived constantly in or on the edge of poverty<sup>20</sup>, and in a state of chron-

<sup>12</sup> C. MEE – H. FORBES (eds.), *A rough and rocky place; the landscape and settlement history of the Methana Peninsula, Greece*. Liverpool 1999 (ch. 8 onwards).

<sup>13</sup> For an example of progress see J. BINTLIFF, *Reconstructing the Byzantine countryside: new approaches from landscape archaeology*, in: *Byzanz als Raum* (as in n. 2) 57–63.

<sup>14</sup> A. DUNN, *The problem of the Early Byzantine rural settlement in eastern and northern Macedonia*, in: *Les villages byzantins dans l'Empire byzantin (IV<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, eds. J. LEFORT – C. MORRISSON – J.-P. SODINI (*Réalités byzantines* 11). Paris 2005, 267–78.

<sup>15</sup> DUNN, *Problem*. See I. MIKULČIĆ, *Frühchristlicher Kirchenbau in der S.R. Makedonien*, in: *XXXIII Corso di cultura sull' arte ravennate e bizantina*. Ravenna 1986, 221–51 and I. PAPANGELOS, *Η Χαλκιδική κατά τους μέσους χρόνους*, in: *Η ιστορία της Χαλκιδικής*. Thessalonica 1998, 77–111, for two of the most significant data-bases.

<sup>16</sup> G. TATE, *Les campagnes de la Syrie du Nord à l'époque proto-byzantine*, in: *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, I. Paris 1989, 63–77.

<sup>17</sup> TATE, *Campagnes* 69–75.

<sup>18</sup> See PATLAGEAN, *Pauvreté*, 245, for an epigraphic record of the latter.

<sup>19</sup> M. DECKER, *Food for an empire: wine and oil production in North Syria*, in: *Economy and exchange in the East Mediterranean during Late Antiquity*, eds. S. KINGSLEY – M. DECKER. Oxford 2001, 69–86.

<sup>20</sup> See for instance A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*. Oxford 1964, 810–2, 817–20; PATLAGEAN, *Pauvreté*, 423–32; J. DURLIAT, *Les conditions du commerce au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in: *The sixth century: production, distribution and demand*, eds. R. HODGES – W. BOWDEN (*The Transformation of the Roman World* 3). Leiden 1998, 90.

ic malnutrition<sup>21</sup>. Aspects of this pessimistic view have already been seriously questioned without recourse to archaeology<sup>22</sup>, but the problems posed by the genres of some of the texts upon which the pessimists have relied, once recognized, look set to be addressed sooner or later within a totally new framework.

The discussion of the condition of the Byzantine farmer after the end of Antiquity is not yet in the same relationship of productive confrontation with archaeology, but will undoubtedly enter one as soon as the major intensive surveys are published (See above). Preliminary reports and micro-regional studies for instance already indicate that, by the twelfth century, farmers were increasingly consumers of glazed and otherwise decorated pottery<sup>23</sup>. As in the Early Byzantine period, rural demographic growth (marked by the re-occupation of land of secondary quality) is accompanied by increased investment in higher-status objects, whether for communal or private use, contradicting the inference that growth must have been accompanied by declining rural household-incomes<sup>24</sup>. The discussion of the practical economic conditions experienced by later Byzantine farmers has meanwhile been somewhat restrained, despite the great variety of relevant documents that are preserved, by that pessimism (already mentioned) about Byzantine agriculture and even about pastoralism, and by some of the preferred lines of enquiry. It is necessary for present purposes to at least identify these; secondly, show how the Macedonian archives are already enabling scholars to correct that pessimism; and finally indicate why the process of revision need by no means have yet reached its limits.

To take the first point, the crucial Middle and Late Byzantine documentation was, until recently, fed straight into long-running debates conducted at the level of “the empire”, debates principally about the changing legal statuses and *de facto* statuses of different categories of Byzantine peasant; about also the changing status of the rural community; and about the increasing economic weight of the landed aristocracy and church in the Middle and Late periods<sup>25</sup>. Now obviously these analyses were both necessary and valuable, but it could be argued that a history of the rural economy as such was not the real product of studies of these kinds. In fact the historiography that has been focused upon the significance of evolving legal and fiscal categories of peasant grows more complex, but the real economic significance of these categories for the population itself is no clearer. However, some articles or elements of broader studies have, since the 1950s (in the west), beginning with those of Nikos Svoronos, genuinely argued about the economy of the Byzantine rural household, naturally making some use of the Macedonian evidence. These arguments immediately led those concerned to look at Byzantine data about the size of peasant households’ ploughlands, and about what different tax- and rental demands implied about yields and surpluses, and to look at these variables in the light of data from Greece, Turkey, and Bulgaria, using early twentieth-century records of entirely traditional Eastern Mediterranean or Balkan agricultural regimes<sup>26</sup>.

Everyone would agree that this approach constituted methodological progress. But the conclusions reached about grain yields (sowing-to-harvesting ratios and net surpluses) were always on the pessimistic side, and were not set within comprehensive assessments of the peasant household economy. The arguments have distinguished now between yields for different grains (e.g., the higher-yielding barley and oat), but the focus has remained upon wheat, with a preference being expressed by scholars for a normally low yield of 1:3 to 1:5<sup>27</sup>. This approach does not take proper account however of regions that were famous for their wheat-surpluses (such as Thessaly), but for which Byzantine archival documents are few and far between. There is for

<sup>21</sup> A. GUILLOU, *La civilization byzantine*. Paris 1974, 245.

<sup>22</sup> M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle (Byzantina Sorbonensia 10)*. Paris 1992, 375–87.

<sup>23</sup> Representative of this work are: P. ARMSTRONG, *Some Byzantine and later settlements in Eastern Phokis*. *ABSA* 84 (1989) 2–47; J. VROOM, *Medieval and post-medieval pottery from a site in Boeotia: a case study of post-classical archaeology in Greece*. *ABSA* 93 (1998) 513–46.

<sup>24</sup> For renewed demographic growth (but not for any inference of pauperisation) see J. LEFORT, *Population et peuplement en Macédoine orientale, IX<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in: *Hommes et richesses dans l’Empire byzantin, II*. Paris 1991, 63–82.

<sup>25</sup> Byzantinists will need no reminding of such works as: G. OSTROGORSKY, *Pour l’histoire de la féodalité Byzantine*. Brussels 1954; *idem*, *Quelques problèmes d’histoire de la paysannerie Byzantine*, Brussels 1956; P. LEMERLE, *The agrarian history of Byzantium from the origins to the twelfth century*. Galway 1979.

<sup>26</sup> N. SVORONOS, *Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles: le Cadastre de Thèbes*. *BCH* 83 (1959) 1–145.

<sup>27</sup> See principally SVORONOS, *Recherches*; N. KONDOV, *Über den wahrscheinlichen Weizenantrag auf der Balkanhalbinsel im Mittelalter*. *Études Balkaniques* 1974/1, 97–109; J. LEFORT, *Radolivos: population et paysage*. *TM* 9 (1985) 193–234; M. KAPLAN, *L’économie paysanne dans l’Empire byzantin du V<sup>e</sup> au X<sup>e</sup> siècle*. *Klio* 68 (1986) 198–232; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Terres du fisc et*



instance good ethnographic evidence for Ottoman Thessaly of wheat-yields reaching 1:10<sup>28</sup>. At a level of 1:3 historians have of course felt justified in evoking any number of factors, environmental, demographic, and fiscal, to argue that most Byzantine peasants' units of production were fundamentally unviable. This then seems to explain the known takeover of many peasant freeholds by the elite during the Middle-to-Late Byzantine period, but does not explain how peasants then managed to pay the same, if not more, to the elite in rents than they had paid to the state. The supposed unviability of the typical unit of production also poses many problems for the interpretation of other trends in Byzantine economic history and in Byzantine rural archaeology (See above). Finally, even though there are now two formidable, overlapping, and contradictory, histories of the Early-to-Middle, and Middle, Byzantine rural economies, the viability of the typical peasant's unit of production remains mysterious<sup>29</sup>. The pessimistic one of this "pair" is based upon a preference for consistently low sowing-to-yield ratios (1:3) and the peasant household's general inelasticity or unviability<sup>30</sup>. The case was also made in a preliminary series of partly theoretical articles<sup>31</sup>. The optimistic work (by Alan Harvey) judiciously avoids, as far as possible, the decades-long argument about sowing-to-yield ratios; instead accumulating all kinds of evidence of "economic expansion in the Byzantine empire" (the title of the work), evidence which is not deployed to confront head-on the models of non-viability. Although a great deal has been achieved therefore by historians of the Byzantine rural economy, avenues of enquiry which could reconcile the contradictions both between historians and between historical evidence and the kinds of archaeological evidence evoked above await further exploration.

Byzantinists have sometimes expressed perplexity that the largely autonomous familial unit of production was the structural basis of all Byzantine estates, aristocratic, ecclesiastical, imperial, and fiscal, by the sixth century and throughout the Middle and Late periods, as though, implicitly, some form of serfdom (imposed inconsistently by the Franks) or of slavery (rare) would have guaranteed greater economic growth, and therefore greater general prosperity. This has created a paradox at the heart of Byzantine economic and therefore political history. Since other economic historians can argue, with no difficulty, that the rural economy dominated the Byzantine economy<sup>32</sup>, and we therefore should accept that on the peasant household-unit rested largely the fate of the economy, models of unviable units of production pose huge problems for the interpretation of other enquiries, based on archaeology, numismatics, and some texts, which have, since the 1980s, stressed the scale and growth of trade in agricultural products, trade at the level of the village, and long-term demographic growth during the Middle and Late periods<sup>33</sup>. To these sources and studies one should now add a significant body of environmental data, associated with radiocarbon dates, from northern Greece, southern Greece, and Anatolia, which also strongly suggests levels of population, agriculture, and pastoralism, rising from the ninth or tenth century onwards<sup>34</sup>. Given all the problems that peasants are known to have faced, and over which they had little or no control, these growth trends cannot be explained unless Byzantine peasant households in most of the fiscal categories into which they were divided (only one of which was labeled "poor" or "landless") were basically economically viable barring major mishaps. Those who have written recently from the pessimistic viewpoint (Patlagean and Kaplan for instance) concede that there was *demographic* growth, but only within the framework of productive stagnation. Although this is theoretically possible (One only has to remember parts of the Third World today) there is no need to be so pessimistic about medieval Byzantium.

Another possible interpretation of the evidence for rising trade from the ninth century onwards would be that both landowners and the administration were exacting more from the rural population, the evidence for

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revenus de la terre aux X<sup>e</sup>–XI<sup>e</sup> siècles, in: V. KRAVARI – J. LEFORT – C. MORRISSON (eds.), *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*. Paris 1991, II 321–37; KAPLAN, *Hommes*, 80–4.

<sup>28</sup> P. GARNSEY, Thessaly and the grain supply of Rome during the second century B.C. *JRS* 74 (1984) 41.

<sup>29</sup> KAPLAN, *Hommes*; A. HARVEY, *Economic expansion in the Byzantine empire 900–1200*. Cambridge 1989.

<sup>30</sup> KAPLAN, *Hommes*, ch. X.

<sup>31</sup> KAPLAN, *Hommes*; IDEM, Pour un modèle économique de l'exploitation agricole byzantine. Problèmes de méthode et premiers résultats. *Histoire et Mesure* 3 (1988) 221–34.

<sup>32</sup> M. HENDY, *Studies in the Byzantine monetary economy c. 300–1450*. Cambridge 1985.

<sup>33</sup> The pessimistic interpretation of texts led historians, before HARVEY, to impose *oliganthropie chronique* (e.g., KAPLAN, *Hommes* 82) upon the Byzantine landscape which archaeology would now seriously challenge.

<sup>34</sup> DUNN, *Exploitation* 243–53.

which Kaplan stresses<sup>35</sup>. There is evidence for two increases in taxation of the land between the eighth and late eleventh centuries, but Treadgold and Harvey, in arguments to which Kaplan did not allude, concluded that these were tax-rises which took advantage of growth in the rural economy, and which did not impede further growth in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries<sup>36</sup>. Some of Treadgold's arguments are controversial, but Harvey's are reasonable: arguments about towns, markets, monetisation, demography, and intense elite interest in the acquisition of property from peasants and from the state in the 10<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. There are of course well-documented episodes of instability and unviability (for instance in the tenth century), but these were not the norm. The problem is in part to correct the impression created by these well-documented episodes. The implication of Alan Harvey's work would be that there was a normal viability and that it had something to do with markets, but the peasant producers themselves tend to be rather absent from these and other discussions of Mid-to-Late Byzantine markets and trade, discussions which are dominated by references to landowners (who are easier to trace as agents of redistribution and exchange).

The basis or bases of the viability of most households as effective units of production, rather than as fiscally defined units of taxation, are therefore what require further analysis, despite recent progress. It is understandable that the principal subjects of analysis have been wheat production (which, it is usually argued, was for consumption, storage, seedcorn, and taxes and rental payments), but also now viticulture and olive growing. It is recognized that (as in the Early Byzantine period) some peasants were in a position to cultivate the vine and the olive for commercial gain<sup>37</sup>. But this means that the focus has tended to be upon what a modern northern European is empirically aware of: the so-called Mediterranean Triad (that is, the vine, wheat, and the olive). If however we consider a real and comparatively well-documented region such as Macedonia, we soon find that the "Mediterranean Triad" was inoperative in Byzantine times, on account of the landscape, the climate, and the state of plant-husbandry (See below). The under-development of Byzantine regional studies as such<sup>38</sup>, a reduced interest in agriculture beyond the "Triad", and a lack of awareness of traditional or pre-industrial landscapes and of their traditional importance, has meant that concrete alternative models which would connect the Byzantine rural household's economy to its physical region, but also to the archaeological evidence for markets, have not been forthcoming. The "Triad" is effectively reduced to two in Byzantine Macedonia (except along most of its coastline and in a few sheltered localities), thanks to John Nesbitt's research on Byzantine olive cultivation<sup>39</sup>. And it could be shown that the remaining "Duo", the vine and wheat, barley and other grains, could never have dominated the pre-modern landscapes of this region<sup>40</sup>. There is therefore a challenge to see how the landscapes of a region which was not untypical of much of the Mid-to-Late Byzantine world were exploited, and (ultimately) how successfully for the actual exploiters.

One of the keys to the viability of the household economy will have been its access to the whole landscape, not simply its access to zones devoted to the "Macedonian Duo". In this attempt to understand how (but not why) a kind of pessimism has pervaded the study of the rural majority, it is necessary at this point to summarise the way that some Byzantinists have actually conveyed to their readers very misleading and, significantly for our theme, very pessimistic, images of Byzantine landscapes, which re-inforce discreetly the ideas of a largely unviable unit of production, and of an empire on a different trajectory from Western Europe, that was merely "managing" its own decline. Alexander Kazhdan, whose works have been influential in the west through revisions and translations, presented in two of them a wholly misleading tableau of the Byzantine environment, of which there were many echoes in works as recent as Kaplan's. For Kazhdan this environment consisted of mountains "with tiny valleys" in between. Byzantium also lacked water. "It seldom rained, and as there were no great rivers the construction of an irrigation system was not possible". He states "that

<sup>35</sup> KAPLAN, *Hommes*, ch. XI.

<sup>36</sup> W. TREADGOLD, *The Byzantine state finances in the eighth and ninth centuries*. New York 1982, 51–65, 86–90; HARVEY, *Expansion*, ch. 4–6.

<sup>37</sup> See for instance N. KONDOV, *Produktionsorganisatorische Verschiebungen bei dem Weinbau in der ersten Hälfte des XIV. Jahrhunderts im Gebiet des unteren Strymons*. *Études Balkaniques* 1973/1, 67–76.

<sup>38</sup> Not to be confused as to substance with such important preparatory projects as the *Tabula Imperii Romani* and *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*.

<sup>39</sup> J. NESBITT, *Mechanisms of agricultural production on estates of the Byzantine Praktika* (Ph.D). University of Wisconsin 1972, 8–11.

<sup>40</sup> See P. BELLIER et al., *Paysages de Macédoine, leurs caractères, leur évolution à travers les documents et les récits des voyageurs*. Paris 1986, ch. 1 (B. GEYER).

Byzantine agriculture could not develop”<sup>41</sup>. All of this is nonsense. André Guillou divides all Byzantine landscapes into “fertile” and “infertile”, and then describes at great length a typology of landscapes most of which fall into his “infertile” category. A largely “infertile”, and implicitly unexploitable, Byzantine world is thereby conjured up<sup>42</sup>. Kaplan, in his very important work, also manages to conjure up a consistently pessimistic set of images of the economic possibilities of most Byzantine landscapes<sup>43</sup>. To take just one aspect, this presentation obscures the fact that the then-undrained lowlands (typical of Macedonia), which the author regards as a problem, were excellent for the pasture of cattle, horses, sheep, and mules. The great rarity of references to meadowland is not therefore proof of the rarity of meadowland (as the author supposes), but indicates, as for certain other resources, that the administration retained more or less direct control of most of it. Scholars assert too that there was “a comparative scarcity of wood”, or, in trying to evaluate Byzantine sylvan resources, dismiss “the bare hills of Greece” as economically valueless, ideas or images which can be disproved<sup>44</sup>. All of these generalizations about Byzantine landscapes, rivers, meadowlands, woodland, and pasture-land, are extremely misleading and have conveyed the idea of a Byzantine economic desert.

By contrast the fiscal historian Michael Hendy has offered an extended analysis of the origins of significant surpluses in relation to the distribution of soldiers’ holdings, imperial estates and lands, and large aristocratic estates. Although he focused upon the Mediterranean Triad too, he plotted some of the known surpluses of pasture-lands and forests, thereby implicitly contradicting many of the assumptions of other economic historians<sup>45</sup>. There is a lot missing from the author’s schematic mapping of rural surpluses (whether for Macedonia or more generally). But his study pointed the way towards an understanding of the economic significance of the whole environment for the rural producer. In a typical region such as Macedonia therefore, consisting as it did of a great patchwork of woodlands, scrublands, wetlands, and open lowlands, every feature would have been intensely exploited, by the Byzantine as by the Early Modern peasant, to produce a vast array of marketable goods, both primary and secondary. There is scattered but reasonable evidence for the traffic in these products. The implication of archival, legal, and some literary sources, is of the openness of these vast uncultivated landscapes to the enterprising rural producer upon payment of access charges, charges which could not have been prohibitive.

Regarding woodland and scrubland, one could discuss timber, firewood, pitch, resin, charcoal, dyes, leather-tanning, cattle-food, and wild game, the extraction of which was fundamentally the business of rural households<sup>46</sup>. One of the clearest examples of peasants’ successful exploitation of these environments, although its investigator did not link it to woodland and scrubland, is Kondov’s study showing that one third of the households in a probably typical village on the edge of eastern Macedonia’s vast woodlands (on the west side of the lower Strymon valley) kept herds of pigs large enough for commerce, about 20 pigs per household<sup>47</sup>. Ferjančić has identified evidence of this scale of pig-rearing in many other villages<sup>48</sup>, and widespread rearing of sheep and goats by Macedonia’s peasant farmers on a commercial scale, a scale which necessitated access to the publicly administered *incultum*. And this is only to refer to sedentary pastoralism. The transhumant pastoralism described by some post-Byzantine travelers, both Western and Ottoman, could help to explain the references to Byzantine Macedonia as a centre for the exportation of leather, wool, ham, tallow, and cheeses, the markets for which, again, one does not have to assume were dominated by landowners selling surpluses that they controlled personally. If estates contained little or no domanial land then most landowners could not have dominated such markets except by using the public *incultum* too. Balkan pastoralism, with its mass movements of free individuals, has not been taken into account when scholars argue that

<sup>41</sup> A. KAZHDAN, *Byzanz und seine Kultur*. Berlin 1973, 43–58; A. KAZHDAN – G. CONSTABLE, *People and power in Byzantium*. Washington, D.C. 1982, 38.

<sup>42</sup> GUILLLOU, *Civilization byzantine* 15–80.

<sup>43</sup> KAPLAN, *Hommes*, ch. I.

<sup>44</sup> For the imagined scarcity (which of course was a feature of discrete areas), Wood and woodworking, *ODB* III 2204.

<sup>45</sup> HENDY, *Studies*, ch. I.

<sup>46</sup> DUNN, *Exploitation*, 275–96; IDEM, *The control and exploitation of the arboreal resources of the Late Byzantine and Frankish Aegean*, in: *L’uomo e la foresta secc. XIII–XVIII*, ed. S. CAVACIOCCHI. Prato 1996, 479–96.

<sup>47</sup> N. KONDOV, *Das Dorf Gradec. Die demographisch-wirtschaftliche Gestalt eines Dorfes aus dem Gebiet des unteren Strymon vom Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts*. *Études Balkaniques* 1977/3, 83–5.

<sup>48</sup> B. FERJANČIĆ, *Stočarstvo na posedima svetogorskih manastira u srednjem veku*. *ZRVI* 32 (1993) 97, 99, 104, 124.

the typical Byzantine peasant, in Macedonia and other regions, had rarely enough sheep, cattle, or pigs, to have been engaged in the marketing of them and their products<sup>49</sup>.

Turning to another of the great “forgotten landscapes”, it can be calculated that wetlands, or lakes and marshes, covered at least 12% of Eastern Macedonia in summer, rising to about 20% in the winter and spring. The majority were drained in the 1920s and 1930s. If these areas were rich in fish, which Late Ottoman financial records show them to have been, then they, and the region’s slow-moving rivers (many of them great, *contra* Kazhdan) constituted major economic resources for the numerous surrounding villages, and not only in terms of wild or bred fish. There was summer- and winter-grazing, hunting, the trapping of fowl, and vast reedbeds that were treated as economic assets in themselves, whilst the rivers and lakes served as waterways. A recent study referred to the wetlands of Eastern Macedonia as regions “which had scarcely any attraction”, despite referring to herding and fishing, thus echoing older views of the Byzantine economic landscape<sup>50</sup>. But their economic attraction is clearly revealed by the fourteen headings (at least) under which the Middle-to-Late Byzantine administration drew revenues from the exploitation of these landscapes. Clearly both the administration and peasants saw great economic possibilities in wetlands<sup>51</sup>. As with the exploitation of woodland, scrubland, and also of open uplands, so with wetlands and rivers, the exploiters were the peasantry, paying access charges to the state, or eventually to some landowners. We find references to the peasants’ fishponds, fish-traps, ditches called *aulakia*, *strougai*, or *kharadrai*, for fishbreeding, and references to the villagers’ mercantile pontoons (*platai*). We find references to the freshwater fishmarket of the principal city of southeastern Macedonia, Serres, and to the prodigious fish-consumption of the great city of Thessalonica, much of which would have been supplied by the rural population (though Thessalonica had its own fishing industry too). We also find references to the proximity of saltpans to lagunal fisheries, which suggests that salted fish, which was an important part of the Byzantine diet, could have been a product provided by the peasant fishermen. Again the access charges could not have been prohibitive<sup>52</sup>.

Without attempting to be exhaustive therefore, the case can be made, in opposition to the standard models of the unviable Byzantine peasant-unit of production, that most peasant households, i.e. most people, were quite viable barring major accidents, provided that they did not attempt to conform to some modern historians’ stereotype of the practice of the “Mediterranean Triad”, which in Macedonia they clearly could not do, but did not need to either, given the wealth of resources around them. It is far more useful in general, for most regions of the Byzantine world, to explore what has been felicitously called “the Mediterranean Trio”, namely: “diversify, store, and redistribute”<sup>53</sup>. In Macedonia therefore rural producers would have been involved in the exploitation of one or more of the great “uncultivated” economic landscapes, all of which were accessible to nearly all villages owing to the tortuous topography of the region, besides necessarily cultivating possible aspects of the Triad. Diversification, storage, and redistribution brought the producer into contact, across a broad range of activities, with local or regional markets. If wheat, as has often been argued, was not something that it was in the economic interests of many peasants to grow commercially (and the arguments are quite good)<sup>54</sup>, almost everything else that they could produce, and particularly that they could extract from or generate in, the *incultum*, it was definitely in their interests to commercialise. It would rarely have been a question, in these spheres of extraction and production, of gluts (hence low prices) and dearths, more one of steady levels of demand and supply. In many large regions of the Byzantine empire, such as most of Macedonia, which are transitional between the Mediterranean and the Continental climatic zones, peasant households probably could have guaranteed themselves steady incomes. They could have successfully exploited some of the resources of these landscapes. This idea contradicts the view of many Byzantinists, who called such

<sup>49</sup> M. GYÓNI, Les Vlaques du Mont Athos au début du XII siècle. *Études Slaves et Roumaines* 1 (1948) 30–42; IDEM, La transhumance des Vlaques balkaniques au moyen âge. *Byzantinobulgarica* 12 (1951) 29–42.

<sup>50</sup> B. GEYER, Paysages de Macédoine, ch. I, 106–8.

<sup>51</sup> A. DUNN, The Plain of Philippi and the exploitation and control of wetlands in Byzantine Macedonia, in: Η Δράμα και η περιοχή της. Ιστορία και πολιτισμός (forthcoming).

<sup>52</sup> A. DUNN, From polis to kastron in southern Macedonia: Amphipolis, Khrysoupolis, and the Strymon Delta, in: Archéologie des espaces agraires méditerranéennes au Moyen Âge (*Castrum* 5). Madrid – Rome 1997, 411–2; IDEM, Loci of maritime traffic in the Strymon Delta 342–3, 349; IDEM, Plain of Philippi (forthcoming).

<sup>53</sup> P. HORDEN – N. PURCELL, The corrupting sea. A study of Mediterranean history. Oxford 2000, ch. VI.

<sup>54</sup> Selectively: GARNSEY, Thessaly; J. DURLIAT, Conditions 92–3.

landscapes “infertile”, desert-like, and of little interest. Relating the Middle-to-Late Byzantine texts to the landscape also helps us to think about the Early Byzantine archaeological evidence for a relatively intensive occupation of the *incultum*, apparently, throughout the empire. A moderately optimistic view of the Byzantine rural household economy, Early Middle, and Late, if it continues to be supported by archives and archaeology, and is eventually refined at their interface, will be an interesting revision of Byzantine history.





GEOFF EGAN

## Byzantium in London? New Archaeological Evidence for 11<sup>th</sup> Century Links between England and the Byzantine World

(with plates 22–23)

Among many novel insights provided into Saxon and Norman London by finds from recent excavations in the central area of the city's Thames waterfront is the revelation of a small concentration of coins and seals from the late 11th century from an overall total of over a dozen Byzantine items of about this date now known from the City. The majority of these objects were recovered during a few years from 1989 onwards, by both archaeologists and detectorists. The very limited distribution within the city of most of the finds is striking. Their potential significance, which is out of all proportion to their numbers and intrinsic worth, is considered against other evidence from the ground from the same period and to either side for connections between London and the Byzantine world. A few other finds of Byzantine objects in England are also noted.<sup>1</sup>

All the objects in the numerical listings below are now in the Museum of London's collections, unless otherwise indicated. The figures here are © Museum of London.

### INTRODUCTION

A series of large-scale excavations in London in the 1970s and 80s, particularly along the Thames waterfront where the preservation of metalwork is exceptionally good, mapped out for the first time the likely survival of different categories of finds through the medieval period. It came as something of a surprise right at the end of these twenty years of intensive fieldwork when a small group of metal objects originating in the Byzantine world and centring on the late 11th century made what at the time seemed like a sudden appearance at two sites – first BUF90 and then VRY89 (see pl. 23, fig. 1). In the light of these finds, subsequent vigilance and purposeful investigation of archive holdings has revealed further relevant material. For the first time, a tight group of artefacts connecting these separate spheres can be considered, along with some possible implications.

### THE COINS<sup>2</sup>

Four bronze coins, which are fairly unprepossessing in appearance (though it is difficult to gauge the degree of pre-deposition wear) come from the BUF90 or neighbouring VRY89 sites (No. 1, along with a fifth coin noted below that is slightly later in date were retrieved from spoil removed from the VRY89 site for searching at another location, as the pace of redevelopment was too fast to permit full stratigraphic excavation of all the deposits there):

#### *1) Anonymous follis of Constantine IX (1042–55)*

VRY89 lorryload <V1074> [site dating ?c.1060–80]

Very worn, d 26mm; bust of Christ // bust of the Virgin, with veil, praying

Cf. WROTH 1908, 503 nos.19ff & pl. 49 no. 7<sup>3</sup>; BELLINGER 1993<sup>4</sup>. Anonymous Folles – Class G.1

<sup>1</sup> For a general overview see now A. HARRIS, *Byzantium, Britain and the West. The Archaeology of Cultural Identity AD 400–650*. Stroud 2003.

<sup>2</sup> See Pl. 21, fig. 1; Note: in descriptions // = next side, and / = next line. (see Fig. 1 for the location of the London archaeological sites mentioned in the text)

<sup>3</sup> W. WROTH, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* 2. London 1908.

<sup>4</sup> A. R. BELLINGER – P. GRIERSON, *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection & in the Whittemore Collection: 3.2 Leo III to Nicephorus III, 717–1081* (by Ph. GRIERSON). Washington, D.C. 1973 (repr. 1993).

2) *Anonymous follis, (class F) issued 1065–70*

BUF90 <Reg. No. 1090> [Context 2994] (Group 45.2)

D 28mm; Christ seated on backless chair, the right hand stretched out in benediction, in the left a gospel book // ISXS/IASILE/IASIL – i.e. ‘Jesus Christ, King of Kings’

As WROTH 1908, 510 no. 10, pl. LX; cf. BELLINGER & GRIERSON 1973, pl. LXI F1 & 2<sup>5</sup> (as is usual these devices are struck over a previous issue, here (?) class C, D or E).

3) *Irregular, provincial copy of a post-reform tetarteron of Alexius I (1092–1118)*

BUF90 <823> [2722] (Group 45.5) residual in deposit with site dating 1158–1200

D 18mm; the flan has split diametrically on the obverse due to a large inclusion of foreign matter; (?) very worn, or possibly the lack of detail results from original poor striking: (?) Christ // Emperor

As WROTH 1908, 547 no. 33, pl. LXV 9; cf. HENDY 1969<sup>6</sup>, pl. 8 nos. 7–9; (?Thessalonika or Holy Land – cf. WROTH, 554).

4) *Barbarous copy of a tetarteron*

BUF90 <690> [2636] (G49.4) site dating 1158–1200

Very worn / corroded; irregular flan, d 17mm; emperor with cross // cross

Cf. HENDY 1969, pl. 8 nos. 10–12 (?Eastern Mediterranean or Holy Land).

These four base-metal coins would hardly represent a significant sum of money, even in pristine condition. They are small change, and certainly in the case of the last two, scarcely worth selecting for retention as souvenirs of travel (if indeed any such concept was current at the time of their use). Their significance is more likely to be as diverse, chance losses (No. 2 is from the same stratigraphic grouping of deposits as Seal No. 1 below). They are certainly indicators of distant links, but not in themselves primary evidence for trade. It is an open question whether any of them might have been dropped by veterans of the First Crusade (late 1090s), among whom there were presumably a few from England, even though this country was not a main contributor to the manpower for that conflict (while the relatively flimsy dating indications from the context dating are not consistent with this possibility, at this stage it would be prudent to keep an open mind). Further possibilities in the light of the other finds are considered below.

## THE LEAD SEALS

Identifications of Nos. 1–4 and 7 were kindly made by Jean-Claude Cheynet, on whose comments much of the descriptions below are based (see his article for a more detailed sigillographic assessment of these items)<sup>7</sup>; No. 8 was kindly examined by Tom Patty. Numbers 2 to 4 were retrieved from spoil removed from the VRY89 site for searching, as the pace of redevelopment was too fast to permit full stratigraphic excavation of all deposits.

Because of weak striking, the devices on most of the seals listed were registered fully only along a central, raised band, where a channel diametrically through the disc catered for an attachment string to the document concerned. The deficient striking has left a large, B-like character from the original casting of the blank flan on Nos. 5–6 and 9 (the significance of this feature remains unexplained).

1) *Stephanos, judge and antiprosopon of the genikon logothesion*

BUF90 site, find no. <1212> [context 3225] (Group 45.2)

D 28mm: (accomplished engraving) bust of the Virgin holding a medallion with the child //

..KEPΘ... / ΤΩCΩΔΘ... / CTEΦAN... / THSAN... / ACΩΠΘ... / ΤΩCEKP... / ΤΘΓΕΝΑ

<sup>5</sup> A. R. BELLINGER – P. GRIERSON, *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection & in the Whittemore Collection*: 3.2 Leo III to Nicephorus III, 717–1081 (by Ph. GRIERSON). Washington, D.C. 1973 (repr. 1993).

<sup>6</sup> M. F. HENDY, *Coinage & Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081–1261 (DOS 12)*. Washington, D.C. 1969.

<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile the article J. C. CHEYNET, *Les sceaux byzantins de Londres*. *SBS* 8 (2003) 85–100 has been published.

[Θ(εοτό)]κε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού[λῳ] Στεφάν[ω] [κριτ]ῆ (καὶ) ἀν[τι](προ)σωποῦ[ντι ἐν] τῷ σεκ[ρέτ(ω)] τοῦ γεν(ικοῦ) λο(γο)θεσίου) ('Mother of God, help your servant, Stephen, Judge and *antiprosopon* in the *Genikon* Department').

Ed.: CHEYNET 2003, Nr. 2

The formula calling on the aid of Mary or one of the saints in the discharge of official duties is standard on many Byzantine seals. Traces of it recur on several of the partly read legends below. This is the first seal recorded for an official holding this particular title.

Jean-Claude Cheynet assigns this find to Constantinople, and dates it (like Nos. 2–5) to the late 11th century, probably 1070–90 and he gives further examples for *antiprosopountes*.

2) *Theodore (?), protospatharios and hypatos – logothete of the genikon; late 11<sup>th</sup>-century, pre-1080*

VRy89, box V21 <no. 26>

Incomplete flan, d 29mm: ...(Π)Ο/ ..ΤΩ / ..ΔΘΛΩ / ..(ΔΩΡ)Ω(Α) / ..ΠΑΘΑΡ(Ι) / ΠΑΤΩ // ΕΠΙΤ.. / (Κ)ΟΙΤ(Κ).. / ΤΗΣΑΝ.. / ΤΑΡΤΘ(Γ).. / ΝΙΚΛΟΓ.. / ΘΕC

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βο[ή]θε[ι] τῷ [σῷ] δούλῳ [Θ(εο)]δώρῳ (πρωτο)[σ]παθαρι(ί)ω [ύ]πάτῳ // ἐπὶ τ[οῦ] κοιτ(ῶ)νος κ[ρι]τῆ (καὶ) (πρωτο)ν[ο]ταρι(ί)ω τοῦ γ[ε]νικ(οῦ) λογ[ο]θεσ(ίου)

Ed.: CHEYNET 2003, Nr. 3.

3) *N., proedros and logothete of the genikon*

VRy89, box 17 <no. 28> [lorryload V1091]

D 31mm: (only M is legible from the legend) // ...ΔΡΩ. / ΓΕΝΙΚΩΛ../ΘΕΤΤ./ΤΗ....

.... [προέ]δρῳ [(καὶ)] γενικῷ λ[ογ(ο)]θέτ(η) τ[η]....

On the obverse the traces could probably read as [Μάρ]κος; probably late 11th-century.

Ed.: CHEYNET 2003, Nr. 7.

4) *N., anthypatos, patrikios and judge*

VRy89, box 4 <no. 15>

D 29mm; doublestruck; roughly holed twice – only one goes right through (this avoids the saints but the uncompleted hole would have gone through their heads): bust of St Mark, M/AP/K to left, ..(ΝΘ)ΥΠΠΙ(Ι)/ ... ΡΕCΤ / ΚΡΙΤ/Τ/Π... around

[Ὁ ἅγιος] Μάρ(κος) // ... βέστ(η) κριτ(ῆ) τ(οῦ) or τ(ῆς)

I.e. '(...t) Judge [P...]' (Cheynet suggests a *Genikon* connection here too); late 11th-century. On the reverse could be a bust of John Chrysostom.

Ed.: CHEYNET 2003, Nr. 4.

5) *N., logothete of the genikon*

GyE92 <6021> [23444] from fill of rubbish pit at site close to the future Guildhall of the City – site dating 1050–1150

Very weak, partial impression; d 30mm:

Bust of bearded saint (possibly one of a pair?) // .../ ΓΕΝΙ... / [ΘΕ]... ΓΕΝΙΚ(Ω)Ν

Illustrated in N. BATEMAN, *Gladiators at the Guildhall: The Story of London's Roman Amphitheatre and Medieval Guildhall*, Museum of London. London 2000, 61.

Ed.: CHEYNET 2003, Nr. 8

6) N.

*ONE90 <2706> Unstratified*

Corroded and broken in two halves along string line; d c27mm:

haloed bust // (almost completely unreadable legend in several lines) ...C/ ... [etc.]

7) *Leon, anthypatos, patrikios and logothete of the genikon*

Curatorial collection no. 99.67; found in the 1980s in a foreshore deposit in front of the future VRy89 archaeological site (deep excavations to put in the present river wall, ?in the 19th century, may have brought

this item up towards the surface); purchased from the finder, I Smith; d 29mm: bust of saint Michael // ...ΕΩΝ / ...ΘΥΠ... / ...ÇΠΑΤ... / ...ÇΚΑ... / .ΙΚΟÇ...ΟΘΕ...

[+Λ]έων [ἀν]θύπ[ατο]ς πατ[ρίκι]ος κα[ὶ] γεν[ικ]ὸς [λογ]οθέ[της]

Ed.: CHEYNET 2003, Nr. 1

8) *Stephen [Xeros], vestarches, judge of the velum and logothete of the genikon*

Curatorial collection no. 17875 (ex Guildhall Museum – no provenance, but that collection concentrated on finds from the City); d 30mm; standing, bearded saint, ... Α Κ Ο C vertically at right // +/..ΕΦ. / .Ε.ΤΑ.Χ / ...ΤΗ..Τδ / ..ΛΣΓΕΝΙ / .ΛΟΓΘΕ/Τ

[Στ]έφα[ν(ος)] [β]ε[σ]τά[ρ]χ(ης) [κρι]τή[ς] τοῦ [βή]λ(ου) (καὶ) γενι[κ(ός)] λογ(ο)θέτ(ης)

The seal is datable to the last years of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Cheynet suggest that Stephen belonged to the family of Xeros.

Ed.: CHEYNET 2003, Nr. 6

9) *N., anthypatos and antiprosopon*

Formerly in private hands, another seal from the Thames foreshore at Queenhithe (i.e. Edred's Hithe in Fig. 1) came to light in recent years – cf. the findspot of No. 7. This has kindly been offered by Simon Bendall to the Museum of London during the compilation of this paper:

D 30mm; bust of saint (?) Mark with bible, O/M/A/R.. to left, ...ANTI(I)... around // [apparently similar arrangement to other stamp but less legible]; datable to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century

Ed.: CHEYNET 2003, Nr. 5

Of the nine seals listed which were or were probably found in the City of London, all but the illegible No. 6 of the first eight appear to relate to the *Genikon* at Constantinople, one of the major treasury departments of the Byzantine Empire. Jean-Claude Cheynet favours a connection with one of the functions usually associated with officials of the army/defence department – the recruitment of English Varangians, i.e. army mercenaries, who, among many other duties, acted as Imperial guards in Constantinople.

## THE NEW FINDS CONSIDERED TOGETHER

Despite the diversity of their stamps, the seals show a more focussed provenance and chronological concentration than the listed coins (which inevitably have a potential for circulation over a period of time). Whatever the explanations for the presence of the coins in London, the first three and perhaps all four listed above should be considered in the light of the seals found in the same area and with which the majority seem contemporary. The coins suggest the movement of people from the East in addition to the documents implied by the seals, but the connection between the two categories remains obscure. Nevertheless, the cumulative archaeological evidence that has emerged suggests a concentrated flurry of activity in the late 11<sup>th</sup> century.

This notable concentration is, of course, part of a much broader, long-lasting phenomenon of finds from the Byzantine World in London and elsewhere in England that otherwise lacks such an obvious focus. Although the listed finds from the City of London for which the place of discovery is known are all (with the arguable exception of the very corroded No.6) from what can be seen as 'central' places for London's trade and administration in the early Norman period, these happen to be precisely the areas where soil conditions allow metalwork of the present two categories to remain legible. Elsewhere in central London, the survival of lead discs, even in the state of No.6, would be highly unlikely. In view of this, it would be unwise to take the currently attested distribution as even beginning to defining the full extent of the capital's buried links with Byzantium.



## OTHER BYZANTINE FINDS IN THE LONDON AREA AND BEYOND

Further excavations in the same area of London's waterfront produced from VRY89 spoil a slightly later coin<sup>8</sup> – a copper-alloy half tetarteron of Manuel I Comnenus (1143–80) from an uncertain Greek mint (cf. HENDY 1969, pl.18 nos. 1 & 2, and WROTH 1908, 580 no. 83, pl. 70 no. 18; identification by Terry Letch).

In addition to this, four single Byzantine coins have previously turned up over the years, allegedly in or close to the City of London (Museum of London reg. nos. 87.33/1–4 – John Clark pers. comm.). These have previously received little attention because three are one-off, chance discoveries, and none is from a formal excavation. Number 87.33/4, a silver miliaresion of John Tzimiskes, issued 969–76, comes from a coin hoard found at the Walbrook dated to c.1075, and may be regarded as a stray exotic within that group; no. 88.33/2, said to have been found at the Royal Exchange, is assigned to Romanus I, 919–44; only no. /3, an unidentified piece assigned to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, allegedly found at Tower Bridge Road, may be of comparable date to the four items listed above (no. 88.33/1, said to be from the Farringdon Road and assigned to Justinian I, 518–27, is much earlier).

It has been suggested that the well known fragments of figured silk textiles recovered in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century from the tomb/shrine in Westminster Abbey of Edward the Confessor were actually part of the monarch's coronation dress<sup>9</sup>. These scraps are now firmly associated with the period of his reign, 1042–60, which is within the span assigned to some of the recent finds of lead seals and coins. While the dating of the textiles is uncontroversial, their origin is another matter – Granger Tailor doubts that they originated in Byzantium itself, though she feels they are likely to be representative of some of the textiles available there, rather she suggests their origin should be sought in the Islamic world, perhaps Persia. This one-off, probable diplomatic gift need have no specific bearing on the other items discussed here.

More speculatively from the archaeological side, Roslund has put forward an intriguing suggestion that an enigmatic category of 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup>-century pottery known from one of the findspots (this one in Lincolnshire) as 'Crowland Abbey ware' might originate in the Byzantine World. The geological source for the clay used has apparently remained stubbornly and most unusually elusive, despite extensive investigations. The fairly unprepossessing bowls and fragments, many boldly decorated with stamped roundels and other motifs, have been recognised in England, Scandinavia and elsewhere in NW Europe<sup>10</sup>. Plate 23, fig. 2 shows two sherds of this ware found in London.

Allegedly from central London is a somewhat dubious find in the British Museum – a 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantine marriage disc of gold, cut at some later stage to make a pair of penannular ear rings, which are recorded as having been discovered in Cowcross Street, just to the north of the City of London, in 1879; Cowcross Street is to the north-west of the area shown in Fig. 1)<sup>11</sup>. These items remain completely isolated in terms both of date and of location, as well as enigmatic – it is tempting to rationalise them as much later losses from some antiquarian collection.

The only other link worth noting here comes from late-medieval documentary evidence and gives a longer-term perspective to the remoteness of the connections attested by the Norman-period and other finds. Two immigrant Greeks working in London as precious-metal wire drawers as late as the 15<sup>th</sup> century seem to have been the earliest recorded individuals from the Byzantine World to take up residence in the English capital<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Unpublished listing by P. Guest of coins recovered from mudlark retrieval operations from spoil following its removal from the site of VRY89 during redevelopment (compiled at Dept. of Coins and Medals, British Museum; copy held at Museum of London), no. 1431.

<sup>9</sup> H. GRANGER TAILOR, catalogue entry in D. BUCKTON (ed.), *Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture*, British Museum. London 1994, 151–3, nr. 166; E. CROWFOOT – F. PRITCHARD – K. STANILAND, *Textiles and Clothing, c. 1150–1450 (Medieval Finds from Excavations in London 4)*. London 1992, 86–7 fig. 59.

<sup>10</sup> A. VINCE, *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London. 2. Finds and Environmental Evidence (London & Middx. Archaeological Soc. Special Paper 12)*. London 1991, 111–2. See also n. 18.

<sup>11</sup> L. ALLASON JONES, *Ear Rings in Roman Britain (British Archaeological Reports 201)*. Oxford 1989, 137–8, nos. 590–1.

<sup>12</sup> J. HARRIS, *Two Byzantine craftsmen in 15<sup>th</sup> century London. Journal of Medieval History* 21 (1995) 387–403.

## THE NEW FINDS SEEN AGAINST THE BROADER PICTURE

The recent coin finds listed above, though few, go some way towards countering the gloomy prognosis for recovering contemporary losses of Byzantine numismatica in England suggested by Boon<sup>13</sup>. Starting with a series of coins of many kinds from Exeter that were long ago published as authentic finds of ancient discards, and branching out to a much wider survey of 140 potentially similar finds from a number of towns across the country, he concluded that only three of these pieces, which were all firmly stratified in appropriately dated contexts excavated in the second half of the 20th century at Southampton and Winchester, were vindicated, and there were possibly a further five which might also be from such deposits (only one of these eight is from the 9th century or later). As for the rest, the conclusion was ‘nearly all are later losses’, e.g. of souvenirs from much more recent travels. This survey included some of the then known London finds but by no means all of them (none of the four in the Museum of London’s collections, as noted above, were listed).

While some of the coins said to have been recovered in previous years in London may fall into that category, the recent finds listed above could begin to redress the balance of probability for some of them – at least it now seems inappropriate to presume against contemporary loss without careful investigation. The same should also apply for other, unstratified Byzantine finds in England that may emerge through the Portable Antiquities Recording Scheme (for example, a very worn anonymous copper-alloy coin of c. 969–1092 from Warburton in Greater Manchester has been identified by Simon Bean – R. Philpott pers. comm.; Boon had previously dismissed an earlier find of a Byzantine coin from the Wirral as a non-contemporary loss)<sup>14</sup>. Limited information will mean that a positive identification as a contemporary loss is impossible in many cases, but with the latest London evidence this possibility seems more likely for some finds, even if they cannot be specifically pinpointed (it would have been very easy to dismiss seal No. 6, for example, had it turned up in isolation).

Byzantine seals are arguably even less common in England overall than coins<sup>15</sup>. Two other seals excavated at Winchester, undoubtedly authentic finds, are much closer in date to the present items<sup>16</sup>. One, dated to c.1060–80, is of an official named John, who was based in the Pantheon Chamber in the Imperial Palace at Constantinople, and the other, which is dated to 1059–64, is of Sophronius II, Patriarch of Jerusalem; the second of these, at least, is likely to concern a completely different sphere of international relations. There are also similarly dated fragments of exotic silk textiles from excavations in Winchester that possibly came from the same regions<sup>17</sup>. These seals and perhaps some of the Winchester textile evidence provide a further cautionary note for anyone seeking to restrict the archaeological manifestation of connections even over an apparently limited period between England and Byzantium to a single phenomenon. Another Byzantine-style lead seal excavated at Lincoln has not yet been identified (WN87 site – information kindly provided by Jenny Mann).

In his survey of Byzantine items from a broad timespan found in Scandinavia (these include ceramics and glass in addition to seals and coins), some of similar date to those discussed here, Roslund concludes that these archaeological finds from early trading centres in Sweden and Norway, are more likely to relate to trade with or pilgrimage to the Byzantine World than – the explanation favoured by historians – to Scandinavian (Viking) Varangians, who (like the ones from England) are well known from documentary sources<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> G. C. BOON, Byzantine and other exotic ancient bronze coins from Exeter. In: N. HOLBROOK – P. T. BIDWELL, Roman Finds from Exeter (*Exeter Archaeological Report* 4). Exeter 1991, 38–45.

<sup>14</sup> R. A. PHILPOTT, Three Byzantine Coins Found Near the North Wirral Coast in Merseyside. *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* 148 (1998) 197–202, 199–200.

<sup>15</sup> See M. BIDDLE, A city in transition: 400 – 800. In: M.D. LOBEL (ed.), *The City of London (British Atlas of Historic Towns 3)*, Oxford 1989, 20–29 for an isolated, 6th-century one from the Thames at Putney, some ten kilometers upstream of the City (half a millenium separates this from the City finds, with which there can obviously be no connection).

<sup>16</sup> M. BIDDLE, Excavations at Winchester: Second Interim Report. *Antiquaries Journal* 44 (1964) 188–219, 195 and 197, pl. 49; V. LAURENT, Byzance et l’Angleterre au lendemain de la Conquete Normande. *Numismatic Circular* 71 (1963) 93–96; IDEM, 1964, ‘Un scéau inédit du Patriarche de Jérusalem Sophrone II trouvé à Winchester. *Numismatic Circular* 72 (1964) 49–50.

<sup>17</sup> E. CROWFOOT, 1990, ‘Textiles’, in M. BIDDLE, Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester (*Winchester Studies* 7.2). Oxford 1990. 467–88, 472–5 & 481–3.

<sup>18</sup> M. ROSLUND, Byzantine artefacts in Lund and Sigtuna c. 980–1250. In: Programme for the Medieval Europe Brugge 1997 conference, ‘Exchange & Trade’ (Paper O3B4), 1997, 17; IDEM, Crumbs from the rich man’s table: Byzantine finds from Lund and

## CONCLUSION

The core BUF90 finds, three coins and one seal, for the first time furnish reliable archaeological evidence from a stratigraphic medieval sequence for contemporary connections of some sort with the Byzantine world. These items are supplemented by at least six further contemporary seals deriving from nearby parts of the early Norman City. The presence in London of a very tightly focussed group, in terms of findspot (with a couple of inland outliers), date and administrative function, of official seals from Constantinople, along with a small assemblage of Byzantine coins from a wider area and arguably from a slightly more diverse period has been established. The earliest part of the datespan for some of the listed coins corresponds with that for a prestigious textile which clearly reached Westminster a little before the Conquest of 1066. It is probable from the historical context that the links the seals represent began with rather than survived the political changeover in England. The recruitment of politically disaffected Saxons into the Imperial Byzantine army appears to be the most likely reason for these particular links<sup>19</sup>. A further category of finds from London in the form of a distinct ceramic ware from about this same period awaits further work before its origins can be tied down definitively in the Byzantine world or elsewhere. These diverse objects are now the raw material for continued discussion before any consensus may be reached as to their individual and collective significance. Hopefully, further discoveries will both broaden out the timespan and continue to expand the categories of objects involved in diplomacy, trade and other movements.

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Any errors in the paper should be seen as the sole responsibility of the writer.

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Sigtuna c. 980–1250. I. H. ANDERSSON – P. CARELLI – L. ERSGÅRD (eds.), *Visions of the Past: Trends and Traditions in Swedish Medieval Archaeology* (*Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology* 19 / *Riksantikvarieämbetet Arkeologiska Undersökningar Skrifter* 24). Lund, 239–94, especially 292–3 and personal communication.

<sup>19</sup> J. SHEPARD, *The English and Byzantium: A Study of their Role in the Byzantine Army in the Later 11th Century*. *Traditio* 29 (1973) 53–93.



MELITA EMMANUEL

## Religious Imagery in Mystra. Donors and Iconographic Programmes

(with plates 24–28)

In the history of Mystra<sup>1</sup>, which extends over the last 211 years of the Byzantine Empire, one can distinguish four separate phases: the period of William II de Villehardouin, prince of the Frankish principality of Achaea, who, in 1249, founded the castle at the top of the hill; the period of the resident Byzantine general, from circa 1260 until 1348; the period of the Kantakuzenoi, from 1348 until 1384 and, finally, that of the Palaeologoi from 1384 until the fall of Mystra to the Turks in 1460. During its Byzantine phase, the history of this province was marked by endless wars, invasions and plundering raids, social and political upheavals. The despots of Mystra were forced to confront the Latin population of the Peloponnese (Franks, Navarese and Venetians), who, either by hostile actions or by diplomatic manoeuvres, continually undermined the Byzantine government. Moreover, the local Greek nobility often acted in an underhand manner in order to retain their privileges. In addition, during all these years the Byzantines had to face the Turkish threat: only during the Palaeologan period alone, eight great military operations were mounted by the Turks against the Peloponnese, during which they systematically, burnt, destroyed and laid waste the land<sup>2</sup>.

However, in spite of its turbulent history, Mystra became a small paradise for the Byzantines. It became an important centre of learning and the arts, as well as a focal point in the cultural development of Europe. It was frequently visited by outstanding political and ecclesiastical figures from Constantinople<sup>3</sup> and was home to numerous artists, scribes and copyists, connoisseurs and intellectuals. The most prominent figure among them during the fifteenth century was the philosopher George Gemistos Plethon, who settled in Mystra after c.1407 and, during his visit to Florence in 1439, particularly impressed with his teaching Cosimo de' Medici, the great promoter of arts and letters<sup>4</sup>. In Mystra life flowed relatively calmly inside the city walls, where the splendour of the Constantinopolitan court was reflected in miniature, and where the customs and traditions of Byzantine etiquette were still alive. Because of its position in a remote and isolated corner of the Peloponnese, Mystra offered a safe shelter from the tribulations of Constantinople and Thessalonica, the continuous and terrible sieges, the civil wars and epidemics. It should be mentioned that, in order to escape the epidemic of the plague of 1361, John VI Kantakuzenos left Mount Athos and went to Mystra<sup>5</sup>, while thirty years later, when the emperor Manuel II sailed for Italy, instead of leaving his wife and children in Constantinople, he brought them to Mystra, where they would be safe<sup>6</sup>. In the fifteenth century Mystra had become the second most important city of the declining Byzantine Empire.

The churches of Mystra<sup>7</sup> constitute the most brilliant evidence of the civilisation that prospered in this place. Their frescoes, despite their bad state of preservation in some cases, even now radiate a genuine Con-

<sup>1</sup> For the history of Mystra see: A. ZAKYTHINOS, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I: Histoire politique. Paris 1932, II: Vie et institutions, Athens 1953, (édition revue et augmentée par Chr. MALTEZOU, London 1975). I. P. MEDVEDEV, *Mistra* (russ.). Leningrad 1973. W. VON LOEHNESEN, *Mistra. Griechenlands Schicksal im Mittelalter. Morea unter Franken, Byzantinern und Osmanen*. Munich 1977. S. RUNCIMAN, *Mistra. Byzantine Capital of the Peloponnese*. London 1980.

<sup>2</sup> ZAKYTHINOS, *Le Despotat*, I (see n. 1), *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> E. BARKER, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium from Justinian I to the Last Palaeologus*. Oxford 1961, 196.

<sup>4</sup> C. M. WOODHOUSE, *George Gemistos Plethon, The Last of the Hellenes*. Oxford 1986, 59, 156.

<sup>5</sup> D. M. NICOL, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453*. Cambridge 1993, 240 f.

<sup>6</sup> J. W. BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): a Study on Late Byzantine Statemanship*. New Brunswick, N. J. 1969, XXVII and 494.

<sup>7</sup> G. MILLET, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra*. Paris 1910. S. DUFRENNE, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra (Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 4)*. Paris 1970. M. CHATZIDAKIS, *Η Μυστρά. Η Μεσαιωνική πολιτεία και το κάστρο*. Athens 1987. S. SINOS, *Mistras*. *RbK* 6 (1999) 380–518.



stantinopolitan flavour<sup>8</sup>. Although almost all the written documents concerning their paintings have been destroyed, we know from several inscriptions, written on frescoes and from monograms incised on stones or columns, that enlightened donors, who belonged to the high clergy or to the governing aristocracy, founded or renovated some of these monuments, which in a particular way, have remained as the silent witnesses of their patrons' aspirations<sup>9</sup>. Repetitions of iconographic details, of entire iconographic programmes and of stylistic forms, due to the similar background of the donors and to the vicinity of the monuments, make the study of the Byzantine painting of Mystra most intriguing.

From this point of view, of particular interest are the two more important churches of the fourteenth century, Hagia Sophia and Peribleptos, which can be assigned to the first despot of Mystra, the erudite Manuel Kantakuzenos, and his wife, the French princess Isabelle de Lusignan. Manuel's monogram is still preserved on one of the columns of Hagia Sophia, while an inscription of a political nature deciphered by Michel Fourmont, mentioned the same despot as donor<sup>10</sup>. It should be added here that this monument was identified with the church of the Zoodotes Christos, which in 1365 became the katholikon of a male monastery. This information comes from a letter written by Manuel himself and is addressed to the patriarch of Constantinople<sup>11</sup>. On the other hand, the information concerning the donors of the Peribleptos remains uncertain<sup>12</sup>. The couple painted inside the church, on the west wall<sup>13</sup>, cannot be identified with certainty. However, the two lions and the fleurs de lys on the stone slab bearing the monogram of the church, the fleur de lys on the interior and exterior walls of the apse (pl. 24, fig. 1) and the lion and the monogram of the Kantakuzenos family on the external south wall, show that the founders of the church must have been Manuel and his wife, Isabelle de Lusignan<sup>14</sup>. Both monuments belong to a variation of the cross-in-square architectural type, with the two western columns supporting the dome, a type that is quite common, especially in Greece during the Palaeologan period. In Mystra the church of the Evangelistria belongs also to this type<sup>15</sup>.

The fresco decoration of the two monuments reveals that a great affinity of style exists between them, a fact noted by all previous scholars. It is obvious that one church was the model for the other. In Hagia Sophia, built between 1350 and 1370, the enthroned Christ is painted in the conch of the apse (pl. 24, fig. 2): the placing, of this subject here constitutes the revival of an early Christian practice<sup>16</sup>, it is a representation based on imperial iconography and symbolising God in Heaven<sup>17</sup>. This figure of Christ, on the one hand, must be connected with the authority assumed by Manuel Kantakuzenos as the first despot of Mystra, and on the other hand with the possible original dedication of the church to Christ Zoodotes; the frescoes in the nave are unfortunately heavily damaged, except for the Ascension, which is well preserved on the sanctuary vault.

The iconographic programme of the north-eastern chapel of Hagia Sophia constitutes, from one point of view, a programme in miniature, of a typical Byzantine church. However, the selection of the Dodekaorton scenes related to death and resurrection, (e.g. the Crucifixion [pl. 24, fig. 3]), the Anastasis, the Women at

<sup>8</sup> D. MOURIKI, The Wall Paintings of the Pantanassa at Mistra: Models of a Painters Workshop in the Fifteenth Century. In: S. ČURČIĆ – D. MOURIKI (eds.), *The Twilight of Byzantium. Aspects of Cultural and Religious History in the Late Byzantine Empire*. Princeton 1991, 217–49.

<sup>9</sup> G. MILLET, *Inscriptions Byzantines de Mistra*. *BCH* 23 (1899) 97–156 and *BCH* 30 (1906) 453–66.

<sup>10</sup> MILLET, *Inscriptions* (1899) (see n. 9), 142–5. ZAKYTHINOS, *Le Despotat*, I (see n. 1), 106, II, 197.

<sup>11</sup> ZAKYTHINOS, *op.cit.*, I, 105, II, 197–298. See also F. MIKLOSICH – J. MÜLLER, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*. Vienna 1860, I 472–4.

<sup>12</sup> A. LOUVI, *L'architecture et la sculpture de la Peribleptos de Mistra*. (Thèse de doctorat du 3<sup>e</sup> cycle, Université Paris I). Paris 1980.

<sup>13</sup> MILLET, *Mistra* (see n. 7), pl. 111, 4.

<sup>14</sup> LOUVI, *L'architecture et la sculpture* (see n. 12), 193–5. MILLET, *Inscriptions* (1899) (see n. 9), 146, n. 41. For the fleur de lys see LOUVI, *op. cit.*, 143, 145, 147, 152, 196, 197–9. A. XYNGOPOULOS, *Φραγκικά κρινάνθημα εις το Γεράκι και τον Μυστρά*. In: *Mélanges Merlier*. Athens 1956, II, 205–11. A. BON, *Pierres inscrites ou armoriées de la Morée franque*. *DChAE* IV D' (1964–65) 101, note 3.

<sup>15</sup> SINOS, *Mistras* (see n. 7) 430–5.

<sup>16</sup> During the early Christian period Christ was pictured seated on a throne, often surrounded by apostles, saints, angels and donors: Ch. IHM, *Die Programme der christlichen Apsismalerei vom vierten Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts*. Wiesbaden 1960, 5 ff. and 11 ff.

<sup>17</sup> A. GRABAR, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*. Strasbourg 1936 (Variorum Reprint, London 1971), 196. For this subject see also T. F. MATHEWS, *The Clash of Gods. A Reinterpretation of Early Christian Art*. Princeton 1993, 93 ff. J. M. SPIESER, *The Representation of Christ in the Apses of Early Christian Churches*. *Gesta* 37 (1988) 63 ff., 65, note 24.

the Tomb and the Dormition of the Virgin), as well as the underground space that was dug beneath the chapel, clearly points to its funerary function<sup>18</sup>. It is very probable that this north-eastern chapel of Hagia Sophia, was originally designed as a sort of mausoleum for the despot Manuel Kantakuzenos, and for the male members of his family.

Of particular interest are the frescoes of the south-eastern chapel of Hagia Sophia, which was built later and most probably after 1366<sup>19</sup>. Its iconographic programme is most closely connected to that of the Peribleptos. It would seem that this chapel is dedicated to the Virgin and to the Holy Communion. Decisive, from this point of view, is the inclusion of the representation of the Virgin in the saucer dome (pl. 24, fig. 4), as well as of the two most important scenes of the Mariological cycle – the Birth of the Virgin (pl. 25, fig. 1) and the Entry of the Virgin into the Temple. We should also mention that two huge representations, those of the enthroned Virgin and Christ, figure on the south and north walls of the chapel, respectively. Unfortunately, these frescoes are very badly preserved today.

The Holy Communion is symbolised in the chapel by the scene of the Divine Liturgy on the saucer dome (pl. 24, fig. 4), in the centre of which Christ is depicted as the Great High Priest, and around him in procession are angels holding the holy vessels and the Epitaphios<sup>20</sup>. Two iconographic types of Christ, which are immediately related to his Passion, were also depicted in this chapel: The Man of Sorrows, and the Holy Mandyllion. Both representations are related to the Virgin in more than one ways. Regarding the Man of Sorrows one need only mention the famous two-sided icon of the 12<sup>th</sup> century from Kastoria representing the Virgin on one side and the Man of Sorrows on the other<sup>21</sup>. The Holy Mandyllion, on the other hand, is related to the Virgin because it is the symbol of Christ's Incarnation; moreover it stresses the meaning of the Passion and sometimes becomes the symbol of the Holy Communion<sup>22</sup>. Great emphasis is given in this chapel, to the Birth of the Virgin (pl. 25, fig. 1), an impressive scene with many figures, which is expanded on the surface of the west wall. Its iconography is influenced by the imperial traditions concerning the birth of a new emperor<sup>23</sup>. An exact copy of this scene, but with fewer figures and not so luxuriously rendered, is to be found in the fresco depicting the same scene of the katholikon of the Peribleptos at Mystra<sup>24</sup>.

We believe that the founding of the south-eastern chapel of Hagia Sophia can with certainty be assigned to Isabelle, Maria or Margaret de Lusignan, wife of Manuel Kantakuzenos and daughter of Guy de Lusignan, king of Armenia<sup>25</sup>. For Isabelle we do not possess any analogous texts to those written some years later on Cleopa Malatesta, wife of the despot Theodore II Palaeologos. This can be explained by the fact that the dynasty of the Kantakuzenoi fell into disfavour when the Palaeologan dynasty asserted its power over the throne of Constantinople. It would seem that Isabelle was a dynamic woman, who actively supported her husband's efforts to maintain peace between the Byzantine despotate and the Frankish rulers of the Peloponnese<sup>26</sup>. She must have been unhappy because she could not have children, and childlessness, especially during

<sup>18</sup> N. B. DRANDAKIS, Οι τοιχογραφίες του ΒΑ παρεκκλησίου της Αγίας Σοφίας Μυστρά. *EEPhSPA* 28 (1979–85) 469 ff.

<sup>19</sup> This chapel is dated after 1366, because in the plan it seems to copy the chapel of the bishop Kyprianos in the Hodegetria at Mystra, dated 1366: Sinos, Mistras (see n. 7), 380. For the frescoes of the south-eastern chapel of Hagia Sophia see M. EMMANOUIL, Η Αγία Σοφία του Μυστρά. Παρατηρήσεις στις τοιχογραφίες και στο εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα. In: Volume dedicated to the memory of M. Garidis, University of Ioannina 2003, 153–98.

<sup>20</sup> K. WESSEL, Himmlische Liturgie. *RbK* 3 (1978) 119–31. T. PAPAMASTORAKIS, Ο διάκοσμος του τρούλου των ναών της Παλαιολόγειας περιόδου στη Βαλκανική χερσόνησο και την Κύπρο. Athens 2001, 135 ff.

<sup>21</sup> H. BELTING, An Image and Its Function in the Liturgy: the Man of Sorrows in Byzantium. *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81), 1ff. IDEM, Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter, Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion. Berlin 1981, 142 ff.

<sup>22</sup> A. GRABAR, La Sainte Face de Laon. Le Mandyllion dans l'art orthodoxe. Prague 1931, 24, 26, 27 ff. D. PALLAS, Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz (*MBM* 2). Munich 1965, 137 f.

<sup>23</sup> J. LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'empire Byzantine et en Occident. Bruxelles 1964, I 95–6, 98. The mosaic with the Nativity of the Virgin in the katholikon of the monastery of Daphni is one of the earlier representations, where one can see the influence from the life in the court. EADEM, fig. 57, p. 94. See also 97.

<sup>24</sup> MILLET, Mistra (see n. 7), pl. 127: 1.

<sup>25</sup> D. ZAKYTHINOS, Une princesse française à la cour de Mistra au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Isabelle de Lusignan Cantacuzene. *REG* 49 (1936) 62–76. S. BINON, Guy d'Arménie et Guy de Chypre. Isabelle de Lusignan à la cour de Mistra. *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* 5 (1937) (= Mélanges Emile Boisacq) 125–42; *PLP* 6, no. 15057.

<sup>26</sup> ZAKYTHINOS, Une princesse française (see n. 25), *op. cit.*, 68. BINON, Guy d'Arménie (see n. 25), 138. D. M. NICOL, The Byzantine Family of Kantakuzenos (Cantacuzenus), ca. 1100–1460. A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study (*DOS* 11). Washington, D.C. 1968, 127.

those times, was a state women found shameful and debasing<sup>27</sup>. When Manuel died she must have been 50 years of age. For a very short time she ruled alone over the despotate, and later sought refuge in Cyprus among her relatives, with whom she had always maintained close relations, often to the advantage of the despotate<sup>28</sup>. From the point of view of size and luxury the impressive representation of the Birth of the Virgin leads to the hypothesis that Isabelle was the donor of the south-eastern chapel of Hagia Sophia, and most probably that she identified herself with saint Anna, the mother of the Virgin, in her wish to have a child. In the text of the Protoevangelion of James, the Birth of the Virgin is effectively seen as God's answer to the prayers of Joachim and Anna, about having a child<sup>29</sup>. The same wish is expressed also through the scene of the Entry of the Virgin into the Temple, which was painted on the east wall of the chapel, over the conch<sup>30</sup>.

Most probably at the same time as the southeastern chapel of Hagia Sophia, around 1370, Isabelle alone (rather than Isabelle and her husband), founded the katholikon of the monastery of the Peribleptos<sup>31</sup>. The things which motivated her to found a new monastery must have been, amongst other factors<sup>32</sup>, the wish to be near her husband, in case he should decided to become a monk in the male monastery of Hagia Sophia, the hope of security in her old age and potential widowhood; and various other socio-economic reasons. Isabelle would thus be able to play a more dynamic social role in the despotate and among the Frankish population still living in the Peloponnese. According to the *typika* of the women's monasteries, not only the donor and the female members of her family could retire to the monastery, but also other women of aristocratic origin. They could live there together, while preserving many of the privileges they had enjoyed in their ordinary life<sup>33</sup>.

The iconographic programme of the Peribleptos, which is also dedicated to the Virgin, consists of three separate cycles: the liturgical and Eucharistic cycle, the cycle of the feasts, (where emphasis has been given to the scenes of the Passion of Christ), and the cycle with scenes from the life of the Virgin<sup>34</sup>. The liturgical cycle is painted in the sanctuary, the prothesis and the diakonikon. In the prothesis are depicted the divine Liturgy, with Christ in the iconographic type of the Great High Priest<sup>35</sup>, the Ancient of Days, and the Man of Sorrows<sup>36</sup>. It must be noted here that the Man of Sorrows and the Divine Liturgy were also represented in the south-eastern chapel of Hagia Sophia. In addition, the iconography of the Divine Liturgy is exactly the same in both monuments. In the diakonikon of the Peribleptos, two iconographic types of Christ are depicted, the Anapeson (pl. 25, fig. 2), and the Holy Mandylion, in the conch and on the wall over the conch, respectively<sup>37</sup>. The Anapeson is represented between two angels holding the symbols of the Passion. This iconographic subject, which is based on the Biblical text of Genesis (49,9) is used mainly to serve the needs of the liturgy<sup>38</sup>. It constitutes an Old Testament prefiguration of the Epiphany of Christ. In some cases the Anapeson functions as a symbol of the Holy Trinity, in others as the symbol of the Incarnation and the Passion. In the Peribleptos the iconographic details that accompany the figure of Christ, that is the Symbols of the Passion and the architectural background, indicate the double nature of Christ, who died on earth and is alive with his Father in Heaven<sup>39</sup>. From this point of view the Anapeson and the Holy Mandylion in this church convey exactly the same messages, the first representing the Old Testament and the second the New Testament. Both lend support and give emphasis to the two predominant iconographic cycles in this church: the very extensive cycle with scenes from the life of the Virgin and the cycle of Christ's Passion.

<sup>27</sup> A. E. LAIOU, Observations on the Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women. *BF* 9 (1985) 66, 67.

<sup>28</sup> ZAKYTHINOS, Une princesse Byzantine (see n. 25), 75–6. BINON, Guy d'Arménie (see n. 25), 137–8, 140–1.

<sup>29</sup> A. CAMERON, Η πρώτη λατρεία της Παναγίας. In: M. VASSILAKI (ed.), *Μήτηρ Θεού. Απεικονίσεις της Παναγίας στη Βυζαντινή τέχνη*. Athens 2000, 5.

<sup>30</sup> Georgios Monachos kai Chartophylax, Enkōmion eis tēn apodosin tēs Hyperagias Theotokou en tō naō kai aphierōsin tō Theō kata tēn historian. *PG* 100, 1412–3.

<sup>31</sup> For the church see above, note 12.

<sup>32</sup> C. GALATARIOTOU, Byzantine Women's Monastic Communities: the Evidence of the Typika. *JÖB* 38 (1988) 276, 278, 279.

<sup>33</sup> LAIOU, Observations (see n. 27), 75–6, 77.

<sup>34</sup> DUFRENNE, Les programmes (see n. 7), pl. 29–30.

<sup>35</sup> T. PAPAMASTORAKIS, Η μορφή του Χριστού-Μεγάλου Αρχιερέα. *DChAE* IV 17 (1993–94), 67ff. IDEM, Ο διάκοσμος του τρούλου των ναών (see n. 20), 148–9.

<sup>36</sup> S. DUFRENNE, Images du décor de la prothèse. *REB* 26 (1968) 297 ff.

<sup>37</sup> DUFRENNE, Les programmes (see n. 7), fig. 61.

<sup>38</sup> B. TODIĆ, Anapeson. Iconographie et signification du thème. *Byz* 64 (1994) 134 ff.

<sup>39</sup> TODIĆ, Anapeson (see n. 38), 153.

From the study of the iconographic programmes of the chapel of Hagia Sophia and of the Peribleptos it becomes obvious that the same meanings are predominant in both, except that in the chapel of Hagia Sophia there is a very small selection of scenes, which constitute a summary of the programme of the Peribleptos. Because the donors of these two monuments were the despots of Mystra, the paintings show an obvious Constantinopolitan influence, as much from the point of view of the iconography, as from the point of view of style<sup>40</sup>. We might suggest that Hagia Sophia, because of its original dedication to Christ and its vicinity to the palace of Mystra, had acquired a more worldly character while, in the Peribleptos, built from the beginning as the katholikon of a monastery, the programme is compact, full of theological messages and with a content of a purely liturgical and soteriological nature.

The iconographic programmes of another two churches in Mystra are also of particular importance, because they were the creations of two prominent personalities and represent the spiritual and artistic trends of their times. The first is the Hodegetria or Aphenidiko<sup>41</sup> (pl. 25, fig. 3): the church was built according to the so-called 'Mystra type', whose distinguishing feature is the combination of a three aisled basilica on the ground floor, with a cross-in-square church with five domes on the first floor. There is also a two-storied narthex in the middle of which there is another dome. One must add that among the most fascinating features of this church are the galleries on the first floor. The galleries played an important role in the court ceremonial of Constantinople and it has been suggested that a similar arrangement was recreated at Mystra with the establishment of a princely court<sup>42</sup>. The Hodegetria must have been greatly admired at Mystra: the same design was used c. 1430 for the monastery of the Pantanassa, while a few years later the Metropolis, built on the plan of a basilica, was also remodelled to resemble the Hodegetria<sup>43</sup>.

The Hodegetria was founded by Pachomios, the enterprising abbot of the monastery of the Brontochion, between 1313 and 1322, that is during a period when the church of Constantinople had recovered from all the persecutions and retaliations that followed the unionist policy of Michael VIII Palaeologos, and enjoyed a significant spiritual revival with the growth of the hesychast movement<sup>44</sup>. Pachomios obtained important privileges for his monastery from the emperors Andronikos II and Michael IX. Copies of the chrysobulls granting these privileges were painted in the small south-western chapel<sup>45</sup>. This abbot was buried, according to his wish, in the north-western chapel, which was built and decorated for this purpose; his portrait offering a model of the church to the Virgin is placed near the south-western corner of this chapel, over the tomb. Following a Constantinopolitan tradition, Pachomios dedicated his funerary chapel directly to Christ, who is depicted twice in a peculiar double Deisis, as the central point of the scene of the Last Judgement<sup>46</sup>.

The paintings of the Hodegetria are among the most brilliant of the Palaeologan period and were immediately related to the Constantinopolitan style of painting<sup>47</sup>. To the donor, the abbot Pachomios, we must assign the composition of the iconographic programme and the iconography, which seem to promote and

<sup>40</sup> MOURIKI, The Wall Paintings of the Pantanassa at Mistra (see n. 8), 219–20.

<sup>41</sup> MILLET, Mistra (see n. 7), pl. 92–104. CHATZIDAKIS, Μυστράς (see n. 7), 60ff. DUFRENNE, Les programmes (see n. 7), 8 ff. pl. 10–9. D. MOURIKI, Revival Themes with Elements of Daily Life in Two Palaeologan Frescoes Depicting the Baptism. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7 (1983) (= Okeanos, Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko), 458 ff.

<sup>42</sup> H. HALLENSLEBEN, Untersuchungen zur Genesis und Typologie des «Mistratypus». *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* XVIII (1969) 105–18. C. DELVOYE, Considérations sur l'emploi des tribunes dans l'église de la Vierge Hodigitria de Mistra. In: Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> Congrès Intern. Études Byzantines, III. Beograd 1964, 41–7. C. MANGO, Byzantine Architecture. Milan 1978, 159.

<sup>43</sup> For the Pantanassa see: M. ASPRA-VARDAVAKI – M. EMMANOUIL, Η μονή της παντανάσσας στον Μυστρά. Οι τοιχογραφίες του 15<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα. Athens 2005. For the Metropolis: G. MARINOU, Αγίος Δημήτριος. Η Μητρόπολη του Μυστρά. Athens 2002.

<sup>44</sup> G. OSTROGORSKY, History of the Byzantine State. Padstow (Cornwall) 1984, 486 f. S. RUNCIMAN, The Last Byzantine Renaissance. Cambridge 1970. J. MEYENDORFF, Society and Culture in the Fourteenth Century, Religious Problems. In: XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès Intern. des Études Byzantines, Bucarest 1971. Bucarest 1974, I 111 ff. For the Hesychast movement, IDEM, Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas. Paris 1959. IDEM, Spiritual Trends in Byzantium in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries. In: P. A. UNDERWOOD (ed.), The Kariye Djami, VI. Studies, Princeton 1975, 95 ff.

<sup>45</sup> MILLET, Inscriptions (1899) (see n. 9), 98–120.

<sup>46</sup> For the decoration of the chapel see MILLET, Mistra (see n. 7), pl. 96, 1–6 and 97, 3–4. DUFRENNE, Les programmes (see n. 7), pl. 17. For the portrait of the donor, R. ETZEOGLOU, Quelques remarques sur les portraits figurés dans les églises de Mistra. *JÖB* 32/5 (= XVI. Intern. Byzantinistenkongress, Akten II/5) 516–7. For the programme of the chapel see: H. BELTING – C. MANGO – D. MOURIKI, The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul (*DOS* 15). Washington, D.C. 1978, 72–3.

<sup>47</sup> MOURIKI, Revival Themes with Elements of Daily Life (see n. 41), 459.



support the ecclesiastical policy of the church of Constantinople and of Andronikos II (1282–1328). This profoundly religious man, dissolved the Union of the Churches imposed by his father Michael VIII, and did all in his power to restore orthodoxy and to bring peace and unity to the Church<sup>48</sup>. In the church there is an obvious reference to Christ and to his work of salvation on earth. The depiction of the genealogy of Christ in the domes and saucer domes of the north and south galleries prove this point (pl. 25, fig. 4). The iconography of these magnificent figures is based on the gospels of St. Matthew (1: 1–16) and St. Luke (3: 23–28), and on the *synaxarion* of the Forefathers celebrated on the Sunday before Christmas<sup>49</sup>. The same purpose is also served by the iconographic cycle preserved in the narthex, where there are represented the Teaching of Christ in the Temple, based on St. Luke (4:18–19), and several scenes and miracles of Christ, such as the Healing of the Blind (pl. 26, fig. 1), the Healing of Peter's Mother-in-law (pl. 26, fig. 2), the miraculous Healing of the Man with the Dropsy (pl. 26, fig. 3), Jesus and the Woman of Samaria, and the Wedding at Cana (pl. 26, fig. 4)<sup>50</sup>. These scenes, and especially those related to water, must be connected with the representation of the Virgin in the iconographic type of the Virgin of the Life-giving Source, seen between her parents Joachim and Anna and with two small flying angels, painted on the tympanon over the entrance to the naos (pl. 27a, fig. 1)<sup>51</sup>. It must be noted here that the *ἀγίασμα* of the Virgin Source of Life in Constantinople was particularly promulgated during the reign of Andronikos II;<sup>52</sup> at the same period the feast was transferred to the Friday after Easter-Sunday and Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos wrote the liturgy for it<sup>53</sup>. The depiction of the Virgin in the narthex of the Hodegetria, is an obvious reference to the famous monastery of the Theotokos, the Source of Life, in Constantinople, where miracles such as healing of blind people or of people with dropsy, and others, had also been reported<sup>54</sup>. It should be noted that even the Miracle at Cana was celebrated on the 8<sup>th</sup> of January in the same church<sup>55</sup>. Regarding the iconographic programme of the narthex, we should add that the scenes and the miracles connected with water, express a baptismal symbolism<sup>56</sup>. As to the Miracle of the Wedding at Cana, it was considered by theologians as Christ's first authentic miracle and as a symbol of the Eucharistic 'Transubstantiation'<sup>57</sup>. The programme of the narthex in the Hodegetria, with its baptismal and Eucharistic emphasis, thus expresses the religious and monastic ideals of the two most influential prelates of the reign of Andronikos II, Bishop Theoleptos of Philadelphia (1283–ca 1322/24) and Patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople (1289–93 and 1303–9), who have emerged as the leaders of the Hesychast movement of ca 1300<sup>58</sup>. It should also be noted that the cycle of Christ's ministry

<sup>48</sup> On the political and cultural milieu of the reign of Andronikos II see NICOL, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium 1261–1453* (see n. 5), 101 ff. A. E. LAIOU, *Constantinople and the Latins, the Foreign Policy of Andronikos II, 1282–1328*. Cambridge, Mass. 1972, 32 ff. T. GOUMA-PETERSON, *The Parecclesion of St. Euthymios In Thessaloniki. Art and Monastic Policy Under Andronikos II*. *Art Bulletin* 1976, 173, 178 ff.

<sup>49</sup> *Μηναίον του Δεκεμβρίου*, Athens 1962, 127 f. UNDERWOOD, *The Kariye Djami, I* (see n. 44), 52. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS (ed.), *Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνά, Ερμηνεία της ζωγραφικής τέχνης*. St Petersburg 1909, 73–6.

<sup>50</sup> DUFRENNE, *Les programmes* (see n. 7), pl. 13.

<sup>51</sup> For the iconography of the Virgin the Life-Giving Source, see T. VELMANS, *L'iconographie de la "Fontaine de Vie" dans la tradition Byzantine a la fin du Moyen age*. In: *Synthronon*. Paris 1968, 119–34. D. PALLAS, *Η Θεοτόκος Ζωοδόχος Πηγή*. *Archaeologikon Deltion* 26 (1971), A', 201–24. A.-M. TALBOT, *Epigrams of Manuel Philes on the Theotokos tes Peges and Its Art*. *DOP* 48 (1994) 135–65. R. ETZEOGLOU, *The cult of the Virgin Zoodochos Pegé at Mistra*, in: M. Vassilaki (ed.), *Images of the Mother of God. Perceptions of the Theotokos in Byzantium*. Burlington 2005, 239–49.

<sup>52</sup> TALBOT, *op.cit.*, 137.

<sup>53</sup> *Πεντηκοστάριον* (Ed. by the Apostoliki Diakonia tis Ecclesias tis Ellados). Athens 1959, 15–21.

<sup>54</sup> For the miracles see the *Akolouthia*, *Πεντηκοστάριον*, 15–21, *op.cit.* See also TALBOT, *Epigrams of Manuel Philes* (see n. 51), 135, note 1.

<sup>55</sup> R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. Première partie, Le siège de Constantinople et le Patriarcat Œcuménique, III, Les églises et les monastères*. Paris 1969, 227.

<sup>56</sup> P. A. UNDERWOOD, *Some Problems in Iconographic Programs and Iconography of Ministry Cycles*. In: *The Kariye Djami, IV*, 259 ff. T. GOUMA-PETERSON, *Christ as Ministrant and the Priest as Ministrant of Christ in a Palaeologan Program of 1303*. *DOP* 32 (1978) 209. M. EMMANUEL, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγ. Δημητρίου στο Μακρυχώρι και της Κοιμήσεως της Θεοτόκου στον Οξύλιθο της Εύβοιας*. Athens 1991, 184 f.

<sup>57</sup> On this miracle's symbolism and iconography see UNDERWOOD, *Some Problems* (see n. 55), 280–5. GOUMA-PETERSON, *Christ as Ministrant* (see n. 55), 205.

<sup>58</sup> For the relation of these two prelates to Andronikos II see T. GOUMA-PETERSON, *The Parecclesion of St. Euthymios* (see n. 48), 178, note 42. For the Hesychast movement see note 41.



acquired a prominent place in Byzantine monumental painting during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, judging by the plethora of the examples preserved<sup>59</sup>.

Another subject here underlining the new and strong position of the Byzantine church is the depiction in the galleries of the whole group of the seventy apostles of Christ the symbol of the continual apostolic succession<sup>60</sup>. In this way, the reaction of the Byzantine church against the primacy of the apostle Peter and of the Latin Pope, as well as against the Union of the Churches, is particularly emphasised.

One hundred years later, the programme of the Hodegetria served as a model for the katholikon of the Pantanassa monastery, the best preserved and most beautiful of all the churches of Mystra (pl. 27a, fig. 2). Situated on a terrace commanding a superb view, the Pantanassa was founded around 1430 by Ioannis Frangopoulos, who was a descendant of a noble and important family, and an outstanding political and military figure of the despotate during the fifteenth century. His personal mark is still to be seen in the monument, in the inscription in the dome of the western gallery and in the monograms of his name and title, *protostrator* and *katholikos mesazon*, that is general of the army and prime minister, still preserved on the south-western column inside the church, and over the two windows of the western facade<sup>61</sup>.

As has already been pointed out, Ioannis Frangopoulos adopted the basic structure of the iconographic programme of the Pantanassa from the programme of the Hodegetria. In both monuments the Virgin is represented in the conch of the apse and in the dome of the western gallery (pl. 27b, fig. 1). Great religious feasts and secondary episodes from the gospels are represented in the barrel vaults and on the north and south walls of the galleries. Prophets, kings and the Just from the genealogy of Christ, together with figures of bishops and saints, most of whom are numbered among the seventy apostles of Christ, make up the decoration of the galleries in both monuments of Mystra<sup>62</sup>. However, the iconographic programme of the Pantanassa has become more precise. The cycle with the scenes from the Dodekaorton forms, as usual, a circle around the church. Moreover, with the Prophets, the Just, and the kings belonging to the genealogy of Christ, the apostles and the bishops, (who in a miraculous way are combined together and are all linked to the Pantokrator depicted in the central dome), the iconographic programme of the Pantanassa has become a system with absolute coherence, which forms a total expression of the Orthodox dogma and of the meaning of the church, as it is described in the well-known quotation from the 8<sup>th</sup>-century *Ecclesiastical History and Mystical Theory* attributed to the patriarch of Constantinople, Germanos<sup>63</sup>.

However, within the iconographic programme certain details of scenes reveal a more personal character. This becomes clear when one recalls that this monument was built by its founder to act as the place where he would spend the last years of his life and that it would become, after his death, his personal mausoleum. For instance, the epigram on the base of the dome of the western gallery speaks of the piety of Ioannis Frangopoulos, who, having on occasions been aided and protected by the Virgin, offered her this church as a humble gift. The text ends with the patron's wish that after his death he be placed to the right of the Virgin<sup>64</sup>. Another inscription preserved in the conch of the apse, also ends with a personal prayer of the donor to Christ<sup>65</sup>. Both inscriptions reveal the funerary nature of the monument, which is made more obvious by certain peculiarities of the iconographic programme.

<sup>59</sup> GOUMA-PETERSON, Christ as Ministrant (see n. 56), 201–2, 212 f. For churches with this cycle, *ibid.* 199, note 1.

<sup>60</sup> A. PHILIS, Το πρόβλημα των Εβδομήκοντα Αποστόλων του Κυρίου, Athens <sup>2</sup>1977. S. KOUKIARIS, Η σύναξη των Ο' αποστόλων στη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή εικονογραφία. *Kleronomia* 18 (1986) 289–304.

<sup>61</sup> MILLET, Inscriptions (1899) (see n. 9), 134 ff. and 30 (1906), 462 ff. *PLP* 12, no. 30100. For the protostrator see: N. OIKONOMIDÈS, Les listes des préséances Byzantines des IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles. Paris 1972, 337–8. A. HOHLWEG, Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des Oströmischen Reiches unter den Komnenen (*MBM* 1). Munich 1965, 111 f. C. P. KYRRIS, Σταράτορος=[Πρωτοστ]ράτωρ or Strator: A Military Institution in XVth Century Cyprus. *EEBS* 36 (1968), 119 ff. R. GUILLAND, Recherches sur les institutions byzantines. Berlin 1967, I 478 ff. J. VERPEAUX (introd., texte, trad.), Pseudo-Kodinos. Traité des offices, Paris 1966, 133 ff., 136–7. For the *mesazon* see: J. VERPEAUX, Contribution à l'étude de l'administration Byzantine: ὁ μεσάζων. *BSI* 16 (1955) 271 ff.

<sup>62</sup> DUFRENNE, Les programmes (see n. 7), pl. 26–8.

<sup>63</sup> Ιστορία εκκλησιαστική και μυστική θεωρία. *PG* 98, 384–5

<sup>64</sup> According to ZAKYTHINOS, Le despotat grec de Moree, II 98, the inscription is as follows: Πολλῶν σου τυχῶν τῶν χαρίτων, Παρθένε, | μικρὸν κομιζῶ σοι δῶρον νεῶν τόνδε | Ἰωάννης Φραγγόπουλος πρωτοστράτωρ | θεοπρόβλητος ἐν δεξιῷ τυχεῖν θέλων.

<sup>65</sup> ... καὶ τὸν δομισάμενον, Χριστέ μου, σῶσον. MILLET, Mistra (see n. 7), pl. 137, 4.

Thus, in the sanctuary, the figure of Christ in the scene of the Ascension, that of the Virgin, in the apse, and those of the parents of the Virgin in an attitude of prayer, of two archangels and the apostles Peter and Paul on the columns supporting the central dome<sup>66</sup>, form a Deesis in three dimensions, so to speak; a composition related *par excellence* to the salvation of souls and to life after death. In this Deesis seem to participate all the single figures in the galleries, that is the seventy apostles and the other saints who thus form a great Deesis under and around the Pantocrator in the dome<sup>67</sup>. The scene with the Resurrection of Christ (pl. 27b, fig. 2) is represented in the southern half of the east barrel vault of the naos, almost inside the sanctuary. The placing of this episode so near, or actually inside the bema, is characteristic of funerary iconographic programmes, and especially of those in mausoleums or in funerary chapels of high ranking donors<sup>68</sup>. In the Pantanassa this scene acquires a more personal character thanks to two iconographic details that are immediately related, in our opinion, to the donor. The prophet Solomon is slightly differentiated from the other prophets in the scene by his luxurious garments and his pose. It seems logical to suppose that the donor, in a subtle way, is presenting himself as Solomon, who was the model of emperors and other ambitious personalities of aristocratic origin, and who financed great building activities in Byzantium<sup>69</sup>. In this way Ioannis Frangopoulos relates himself to the royal ancestors of Christ, who are represented in the domes of the galleries. Furthermore, in the scene of the Resurrection in the Pantanassa, there is a closed sarcophagus, an extremely rare iconographic detail, (most probably symbolising the tomb of the same *ktetor*, as well as his wish to be resurrected after his death, as so rare are Adam and Eve in the same scene<sup>70</sup>).

In the iconographic programme of the western gallery several holy monks are included. Three of them are very obviously represented: saint Pachomios with the angel of God, saint Sabbas and saint Arsenios<sup>71</sup>. They are founders of big monasteries and are the most important of the saints of this category. It is interesting that, in the inscriptions on their scrolls, all of them stress the importance of and the advantages of the ascetic way of life, for the salvation of man's soul. Their selection in the iconographic programme most probably symbolises Frangopoulos' wish to end his life as a monk, a practice that was very common among the emperors and the aristocrats of Byzantium during the last centuries before the fall of Constantinople to the Turks<sup>72</sup>.

The iconography of the Pantanassa frescoes presents a tendency towards eclecticism. Besides the Hodegetria, the painting of the Peribleptos also acted as a model here, mainly with regard to the iconographic details of the scenes<sup>73</sup>. However, in some of the frescoes of the Pantanassa with the many decorative details, one can discover a real joy of life. For instance, in the Annunciation (pl. 28, fig. 1), a peculiar *hortus conclusus* is depicted, with trees, yellow walls and a red floor, symbolising the chastity of the Virgin. In this scene there is also a fountain with birds drinking water, related again to the Virgin as the Source of Life. In the Nativity (pl. 28, fig. 2) several secondary episodes recall idyllic scenes of late antiquity depicting pastoral subjects. All these elements detach the eye of the viewer from the central and main subject. But the most brilliant scene is the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem (pl. 28, fig. 3). It is a real celebration, with groups of people bursting out of the walls of the city, and many young children taking off their cloaks and placing them under the feet of the donkey bearing the Lord, while others are shown climbing trees, running, playing and fighting. One figure is pictured removing a thorn from his foot. We should also notice the garments of the Jews, which seem to copy real 14<sup>th</sup>- and 15<sup>th</sup>-century fabrics, produced mainly in Thessalonica<sup>74</sup>.

It is very difficult for the scholar to draw final conclusions after such a brief reference to the iconographic programmes of the four monuments in Mystra. However, some preliminary points should be made: they

<sup>66</sup> DUFRENNE, Les programmes (note 7), pl. 21, 27–8.

<sup>67</sup> The iconographic programme of St. Mary Pammakaristos in Constantinople presents certain similarities with the programme of the Pantanassa: BELTING – MANGO – MOURIKI, The Mosaics and Frescoes (see n. 42), 69 ff.

<sup>68</sup> S. DER NERSESSIAN, Program and Iconography of the frescoes of the Parecclesion. In: Kariye Djami, IV. Studies, 308. N. TETERIATNIKOV, Private Salvation Programs and their Effect on Byzantine Church Decoration. *Arte Medievale* 7 (1993) 47.

<sup>69</sup> D. MOURIKI, Τα ψηφιδωτά της Νέας Μονής Χίου. Athens 1985, 151.

<sup>70</sup> ASPRA-VARDAVAKI – EMMANOUIL, Παντάνασσα (see n. 43), 134.

<sup>71</sup> MILLET, Mistra (note 7), pl. 146, 2.

<sup>72</sup> ASPRA-VARDAVAKI – EMMANOUIL, Παντάνασσα (see n. 43), 228.

<sup>73</sup> MOURIKI, The Wall Paintings of the Pantanassa at Mistra (see n. 8), *passim*.

<sup>74</sup> B. RADOJKOVIC, Les métiers d'art dans la Serbie moravienne. In: L'école de la Morava et son temps. Symposium de Resava, 1968. Beograd 1972, 197, note 57 and 210. D. SIMIC-LAZAR, Kalenic et la dernière période de la peinture Byzantine. Skopje 1995, 30, fig. 31.

were important works of art commissioned by people of a high social and spiritual ranking and prove that, in those years, when Constantinople and Thessalonica, the two dominant cultural centres, were in a state of progressive decline, Mystra could still play a crucial role in the field of the arts.

Among the most impressive qualities of the paintings of Mystra is their power of renewal, which displays an attitude of optimism in a period when the threat of the expanding Ottoman Empire had already cast its shadow over all the activities of the waning Byzantium. The donors and the painters of the churches, besides their incontestable religious commitment, succeeded in subtly expressing their personal needs, wishes and political or religious beliefs, conveying the impression that they were living in a different world, completely untouched by the tragic events that marked the history of the last centuries of the Byzantine Empire.



STEFANOS GEROULANOS

## Surgery in Byzantium

Surgery in Byzantium with respect to the research and results achieved in many other medical fields remained more or less impenetrable, despite its major contribution in conservation, development and transfer of antique knowledge. Byzantine texts provide surprising medical information. Apart from simple surgical procedures, such as incision and drainage of abscesses, they also include fascinating descriptions of severe and very difficult operations. Three of the most important physicians/authors of Byzantium, like Oribasios (325 c.–403 c. A.D.), Aetios of Amida (6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.) and Paul of Aigina (625 c.–690 c. A.D.) describe and perform amazing operations, i.e. craniotomies, strumectomies, aneurysmectomies, stripping of varices, transvaginal hysterectomies.

In 1903 Schoene published the names of 54 “Greek-roman” surgical instruments for the first time<sup>1</sup>; in 1907 Milne attempted to attribute names to the Byzantine instruments found their Byzantine names<sup>2</sup>. Maraslis (1983) broadened the list up to 160 instruments<sup>3</sup>, while Bliquez in 1985 increased these to 237<sup>4</sup>. Several instruments have different forms, shapes and names, obviously made for particular operations, thus increasing the number of the various Byzantine instruments known to over 500. Out of these instruments 207 can be classified according to their special use within several surgical specialties.

In this study one has tried to collect together in the form of the list below the most commonly performed operations and the instruments they employ and to classify them according to today’s surgical specialties. However, instruments such as the scalpel, probes or others that can be placed under different surgical procedures are mentioned – with the exception of two or three of them – only once. For the surgical instruments no citations were given, because they are already all present in Maraslis and Bliquez.

### GENERAL SURGERY

Operations: Strumectomy<sup>5</sup> (with emphasis on recurrent nerve), Herniotomy and Herniorrhaphy<sup>6</sup>, Hydro-<sup>7</sup> and Varicocele<sup>8</sup> operation, Entero-<sup>9</sup> and Omphalocele<sup>10</sup>, Laparocentesis<sup>11</sup>, Gastrorhaphy<sup>12</sup>, Lymphnode and Ganglion excision<sup>13</sup>, Hexadactily operation<sup>14</sup>, general abscess incision and drainage<sup>15</sup>, Liver and “Spleen”

<sup>1</sup> H. SCHOENE, Zwei Listen chirurgischer Instrumente. *Hermes* 38 (1903) 280–4.

<sup>2</sup> J. S. MILNE, Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times. Oxford 1907. On ancient instruments cf. several publications of E. KÜNZL, e.g. Medizinische Instrumente aus Sepulkralfunden der römischen Kaiserzeit. *Bonner Jahrbücher* 182 (1982) 1–131; Forschungsbericht zu den antiken medizinischen Instrumenten, in: Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, vol. 37/3: Wissenschaften (Medizin und Biologie). Berlin-New York 1996, 2433–639; Medizinische Instrumente der römischen Kaiserzeit im Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz. Mainz 2002.

<sup>3</sup> A. MARASLIS, Η χειρουργική στο Βυζάντιο (Surgery in Byzantium). Athens 1983.

<sup>4</sup> L. J. BLIQUEZ, Two Lists of Greek Surgical Instruments and the State of Surgery in Byzantine Times, in: J. SCARBOROUGH (Ed.), Symposium on Byzantine Medicine (= *DOP* 38, 1984). Washington, D.C. 1984, 187–204. Cf. IDEM, The surgical instrumentarium of Leon Iatrosophistes. *Medicina nei Secoli. Arte e Scienza* 11/2 (1999) 291–322.

<sup>5</sup> Paul of Aigina (= P.), *Epitome iatrike*, ed. I. L. HEIBERG, I–II (CMG IX 1–2). Leipzig 1921/1924, 76.

<sup>6</sup> P. II 106–07; Aetios of Amida (= A.), *Tetrabiblon* (book I–XVI), book XVI ed. S. ZERBOS. Leipzig 1901, 151.

<sup>7</sup> P. II 102; Aetios of Amida (=A.) XVI 150.

<sup>8</sup> P. II 105; A. XVI 151.

<sup>9</sup> P. II 106.

<sup>10</sup> P. II 88.

<sup>11</sup> P. II 87.

<sup>12</sup> P. II 89, 129.

<sup>13</sup> P. II 76.

<sup>14</sup> P. II 84.

<sup>15</sup> P. II 71; Oribasios (= O.), *Collectiones medicae*, ed. I. RAEDER, I–IV (CMG VI 2). Leipzig 1928/33 44, 5 (III 118–20 Raeder).



abscess drainage<sup>16</sup>, Scrofulosis<sup>17</sup>, Panaritium incision, Ingrowing-nail operation<sup>18</sup>, Removal of foreign bodies<sup>19</sup> and Finger-, Arm-, Leg-amputation<sup>20</sup>.

Instruments: *Akis* (fine needle), *Akone* (sharpener), *Amphimelon* (double probe), *Angistron* (skin retractor), *Angster* (wound adapter), *Apyrenomele* (without olivary end), *Belone* (needle), *Beloulkos* (arrow extractor), *Diocleios* (arrow extractor of Diocles), *Dioster* (arrow pusher), *Doidyx* (pestle), *Dipyrenon* (double olivary probe), *Drepanon* (sickle), *Elasma* (flat part of instrument), *Grammister* (stylus), *Grapheion* (stylus), *Igdion* (mortar), *Kauterion* (cauter), *Kochliarion* (spoon), *Koparion* (probe or scalpel), *Kyathiscos* (spoon like instrument), *Lavis* (forceps), *Mele* (probe), *Mydion* (forceps), *Oxylabidion* (fine forceps), *Parakenterion* (trocar), *Psallis* (scissors), *Pyren* (olivary end of probe), *Ramma* (Suture), *Raphis* (thick needle), *Sarkolabos* (flesh-or-tumour forceps), *Solen* (tube), *Spathe* (spatula), *Spathion* (lancet), *Spathistes* (spatula), *Spathomele* (spatula and probe), *Thyia* (mortar), *Xyster* (Raspatorium). *Ypospathistes* (spatula).

## DERMATOLOGY

Operations: Excisions of steatomas or atheromas<sup>21</sup>, corns, tyles and wards<sup>22</sup>, surgical removal of scrofula<sup>23</sup>, incision of furuncles<sup>24</sup>, excision of lipomas<sup>25</sup> and opening of fistulas<sup>26</sup>. Wound care of ulcers<sup>27</sup> and bites with special emphasis on rabies<sup>28</sup>. Therapy of Erysipelas.

Instruments: *Akanthobolos* (thorn removal instrument), *Etheiologos* (epilation tweezer), *Pyoulkos* (pus extractor), *Tricholabis* (tweezer for hair-removal), *Xyraphion* (razor), *Xystra* (dermarbrasio instrument. or hair-scraper).

## NEUROSURGERY

Operations: Trepanation, Craniotomy, Elevation of impressed bone segments, and several operations in cranial fractures<sup>29</sup>.

Instruments: *Abaptiston* (drill that cannot be baptised e.g. traumatize the meninges), *Aris* (bow-drill), *Choinikes* (hollow drill or crown trepan), *Kephalikon sphyron* (surgical hammer), *Kephalotrypanon* (trepanation drill), *Kouphister* (ring pad around trephine opening), *Meningophylax* (meningeal protector), *Pilarion* (cap of bandage for hydrocephalus), *Trypane* or *Trypanion* or *Trypanon* (drill).

<sup>16</sup> P. II 86–7; O., *Collectiones medicae* 44, 10 (III 123–4); O., *Synopsis ad Eustathium*, ed. I. RAEDER (*CMG* VI 3). Leipzig 1926, 9, 23, 1 (292 RAEDER).

<sup>17</sup> P. II 76.

<sup>18</sup> P. II 126; O., *Synopsis ad Eustathium* 7, 18 (222–3).

<sup>19</sup> P. II 129.

<sup>20</sup> P. II 126.

<sup>21</sup> P. II 74.

<sup>22</sup> P. II 128.

<sup>23</sup> As note 17.

<sup>24</sup> P. II 71; O., *Collectiones medicae* 44, 29 (III 158).

<sup>25</sup> P. II 74.

<sup>26</sup> P. II 118–9.

<sup>27</sup> P. II 160, 182; A. XVI 59; O., *Synopsis ad Eustathium* 7, 1 and 7, 11 (211–212, 217–8).

<sup>28</sup> Aetios of Amida (= A.), *Tetrabiblon* (book I–XVI), book XIII ed. S. ZERBOS. *Athena* 18 (1906) 264–92, esp. 266–8.

<sup>29</sup> P. II 136–42.

## ANGIOLOGY

Operations: Ligation of arteries<sup>30</sup>, Arteriotomy<sup>31</sup>, Arterial resection in temporal Arteritis<sup>32</sup>, Aneurysmectomy<sup>33</sup>, Varicectomy<sup>34</sup> (various methods including stripping), Haemostasis by compression<sup>35</sup>, Ligation<sup>36</sup>, Cauterization<sup>37</sup> and Haemostyptics<sup>38</sup>.

Instruments: *Epikroustikon* (hammer like phlebotome), *Exymenister* (membrane cutter), *Katias* (type of phlebotome), *Kauter menoides* (semilunar cauter), *Kirsoulkos* (varix retractor), *Phlebotomos* (phlebotome), *Sikya* (cupping glass).

## OPHTHALMOLOGY

Operations: Blepharotomy<sup>39</sup>, Blepharoplasty of distichiasis<sup>40</sup>, Lagophthalmus operation<sup>41</sup>, Ektropion operation<sup>42</sup>, Anabronchismus<sup>43</sup>, Hydatic cyst removal<sup>44</sup>, Chalazion<sup>45</sup>, Pterygium<sup>46</sup>, Catarrhact operations<sup>47</sup>, Eyelid-sty treatment<sup>48</sup>.

Instruments: *Belone kataraktou* (cataract needle), *Belone parakenterios* (couching needle), *Blepharodistoleus* (eyelid opener), *Blepharokatochon* (eyelid retractor), *Blepharotomon* (eyelid scalpel), *Blepharoxyston* (fine raspatorium), *Melotes* (perforated probe), *Ophthalmostates* (instrument for the fixation of the eye), *Pterygotomos* (pterygion remover), *Ptilon* (hair remover), *Smilion anarrhaphikon* (eyelid knife).

## EAR-NOSE-THROAT

Operations: Resection of Nose-polyps<sup>49</sup>, Rhinoplasty after nose accident, Retroauricular acoustic pore opening<sup>50</sup>, plastic ear-reconstruction<sup>51</sup>, Reposition of mandibula luxation<sup>52</sup>, Maxilla and mandibulafixation<sup>53</sup>, Tooth-extraction<sup>54</sup>, Sialolithiasis operation<sup>55</sup>, Uvulectomy<sup>56</sup>, Tonsillectomy<sup>57</sup>, Tracheostomy<sup>58</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> P. II 48.

<sup>31</sup> P. II 47; O., Synopsis ad Eustathium I, 12 (12) .

<sup>32</sup> P. II 48.

<sup>33</sup> P. II 75; O., Collectiones medicae 45, 23–24 (III 179–81).

<sup>34</sup> P. II 125; O., Collectiones medicae 45, 21 (III 177).

<sup>35</sup> P. II 354.

<sup>36</sup> P. II 74, 48; O., Collectiones medicae 50, 52 (IV 68–9).

<sup>37</sup> P. II 84; A. XVI 62.

<sup>38</sup> O., Collectiones medicae 50, 52 (IV 68–9).

<sup>39</sup> P. II 56–7.

<sup>40</sup> P. II 51.

<sup>41</sup> P. II 54.

<sup>42</sup> P. II 55.

<sup>43</sup> P. II 55.

<sup>44</sup> P. II 56.

<sup>45</sup> P. II 58.

<sup>46</sup> P. II 58.

<sup>47</sup> P. II 60.

<sup>48</sup> P. II 58.

<sup>49</sup> P. II 64.

<sup>50</sup> P. II 62.

<sup>51</sup> O., Collectiones medicae 45, 26 (181–2).

<sup>52</sup> P. II 163; O., Collectiones medicae 49,28 (IV 44).

<sup>53</sup> P. II 145; O., Collectiones medicae 46, 3 (III 214–5).

<sup>54</sup> P. II 66.

<sup>55</sup> O., Collectiones medicae 45, 6 (III 164–5).

<sup>56</sup> P. II 68.

<sup>57</sup> P. II 67.

<sup>58</sup> P. II 70.

## Instruments:

- in Otology: *Iris otikos* (ear syringe), *Klyster otikos* (ear clyster), *Melotes* or *melotres* (ear probe), *Otenchytes* (ear rinser), *Otoglyphis* (ear-chisel), *Labis leptotata* (extra fine forceps), *Rhinotorinion* (small file).
- in Rhinology: *Polyposphaktes* (Polyp cutter), *Polypotomos* (polyp knife), *Polypoxystes* (nose-polyp remover), *Rhineclytes* (nasal syringe), *Rhinotorinion* (small file), *Rhinospation* (nose-knife), *Smilarion stenon* (nose-polyp lancet), *Spathion polypikon* (semilunar nose-polyp knife).
- in Laryngology: *Akanthobolos* (pharyngeal forceps), *Angylotomos* (curved tonsil knife), *Antiotomon* (tonsil knife), *Antoptra* (pharyngeal mirror), *Mydion* (shell-like forceps), *Staphylagra* (uvula remover), *Staphylepartes* (uvula lifter), *Stapghylokaustes* (uvula cauter), *Staphylolabis* (uvula forceps), *Staphylotomos* (uvula knife).
- in Stomatology: *Bouglosson* (tongue scraper, or tongue depressor), *Daktylethra* (finger stall), *Lithanaboleus* (parotid duct stone hauler), *Sarkolabis* (flesh pincer), *Sphenarion* (wedge to keep mouth open), *Stomatodistoleus* (mouth opening instrument).
- in Odontology: *Odontagra* (tooth extractor), *Odontoxyster* (tooth scaler), *Rizagra* (tooth root forceps), *Smyris* (emery).

## BREAST AND THORACIC SURGERY

Operations: Resection of breast tumors<sup>59</sup>, Mastectomy<sup>60</sup>, Combined mamma preserving tumor resection and cauterization<sup>61</sup>, Incision of breast abscess<sup>62</sup>, Removal of milk-stones<sup>63</sup>, Excision of necrosis and fistulas<sup>64</sup>, Gynaecomasty operation<sup>65</sup>, Rib resection<sup>66</sup>, Drainage of empyema<sup>67</sup>, Separation of siamese twins<sup>68</sup> (the first in the world).

Instruments: *Ekkopeus* (bone cutting instrument), *Parakenterion* (trocar), *Platymele* (flat probe), *Pleurokops* (rib cutter), *Pleuroprister* (rib saw), *Rine* (file).

## VISCERAL SURGERY

Operations: Includes several unclear abdominal operations and others mentioned under “general surgery”<sup>69</sup>.

Instruments: *Enterophylax* (intestinal spatula), *Koparion hydrokelikon* (hydrocele dissector), *Parastoleus* (stomach instrument), *Pyalos* (bathing tub for treatment of enterocele), *Siphon* (drainage tube for hydrocele).

<sup>59</sup> P. II 84.

<sup>60</sup> P. II 85; A. XVI 60–4.

<sup>61</sup> A. XVI 61, 40–4.

<sup>62</sup> O., *Collectiones medicae* 44, 5 (III 164); O., *Eclogae medicamentorum*, ed. I. RAEDER (*CMG* VI 2). Leipzig 1933, 97 (IV 273–7); A. XIII 39.

<sup>63</sup> O., *Collectiones medicae* 45, 12 (III 167); O., *Synopsis ad Eustathium* 7, 39 (237).

<sup>64</sup> O., *Collectiones medicae* 44, 19–20 (III 133–42); A. XVI 58.

<sup>65</sup> P. II 86.

<sup>66</sup> O., *Collectiones medicae* 44, 8 (III 122–3).

<sup>67</sup> O., *Collectiones medicae* 44, 7 (III 121–2); P. II 84.

<sup>68</sup> Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* 433 (BEKKER); John Scylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum* 232 (THURN). First analysis in G. E. PENTOGALOS – J. G. LASCARATOS, A surgical operation performed on siamese twins during the tenth century in Byzantium. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 58 (1984) 99–102; see also S. GEROULANOS – F. JAGGI – J. WYDLER – M. LACHAT – M. CAKMAKCI, Thoracopagus Symmetricus. Zur Trennung von siamesischen Zwillingen im 10. Jahrhundert n. Ch. durch byzantinische Ärzte. *Gesnerus* 50 (1993) 179–99.

<sup>69</sup> P. II 129.

## GYNAECOLOGY AND OBSTETRICS

Operations: Transvaginal hysterectomy<sup>70</sup>, Drainage of uterus empyema<sup>71</sup>, Operation of cervix varices<sup>72</sup>, Nymphectomy<sup>73</sup>, Operation of hymenal, vaginal and uterus atresia<sup>74</sup>, Resection of pudendal, vaginal and cervical Condylomas<sup>75</sup>, major improvements in irregular birth: Use of forceps, Embryotomy, Support of genitals during birth<sup>76</sup>, Manual extraction of placental rests, Manual cleansing of uterus in postpartal infection<sup>77</sup>, Operation on hermaphrodites<sup>78</sup>.

Instruments: *Chytra* (fumigation apparatus), *Daktylethra* (finger stall), *Dioptra*, *Dioptrion*, *Dioptron* (vaginal specula), *Diphros maiotikos* (gynaecological chair), *Diphros paredros* (chair for births and fumigation), *Embryoulkos* (midwife forceps), *Embryotomos* (embryotome), *Embryothlastes* (spike for dispatching a fetus), *Kephaloklastes* (cranioclast), *Katiadion/Katias* (dead-embryo chisel), *Metranyktes* (uterus dilatator), *Mettrenchytes* (uterus lavage instrument), *Metroskopion* (speculum), *Onyx* (fish-hook-like instrument for extraction of dead fetus), *Pessos* (pessary), *Physarion* (syringe).

## UROLOGY

Operations: Circumcision and phimosis operation<sup>79</sup>, Hypospadias operation (building neourethra)<sup>80</sup>, Resection and cauterization of condylomas<sup>81</sup>, Catheterization of bladder and lavage<sup>82</sup>, Transurethral and transvaginal cystolithotrypsic<sup>83</sup>, Transvaginal and transperineal cystolithiasis removal, Castratio<sup>84</sup>, Hermaphrodites operation<sup>85</sup>.

Instruments: *Avliskos* (small tube, reed), *Kalamis pterou* (shaft of bird's feather), *Kalamiskos* (drainage tube), *Katheter* (catheter), *Kauloklyster* (urethra clyster), *Lithanaboleus* (stone extractor), *Lithokopos* (stone cutter, scalpel), *Lithotomos* (scalpel for lithotomy), *Lithoulkos* (stone extractor), *Skenorrhaphion* (frenulum preaputii needle), *Skolops* (urethra lancet), *Syringion* (small tube, fistula).

## PROCTOLOGY

Operations: Haemorrhoidectomy (incl. Ligation and cauterization)<sup>86</sup>, Fistulotomy and Fistulectomy<sup>87</sup>, Seton technique<sup>88</sup>, Perianal abscess drainage<sup>89</sup>, Anal atresia operation<sup>90</sup>.

Instruments: *Aimorrhoidokaustes* (haemorrhoidal cautery), *Askoma* (wine skin, bellow), *Abliskos* (small tube, reed), *Brochos* (ligature), *Dioptra* (speculum), *Dioptron mikron* (small speculum), *Diastoleus* (dilatator), *Edroskopion* (anal speculum), *Eneter* (enema syringe), *Keras* (tube of clyster), *Klyster* (clyster), *Emispathion* (half-sword, lancet), *Ipoterion* (small tube from papyrus), *Organon drepanoides* (fistula knife), *Syringotomon* (fistula knife).

<sup>70</sup> A. XVI 109.

<sup>71</sup> P. II 113; A. XVI 134–6.

<sup>72</sup> A. XVI 147.

<sup>73</sup> A. XVI 152.

<sup>74</sup> A. XVI 146.

<sup>75</sup> P. II 124.

<sup>76</sup> P. II 114–5.

<sup>77</sup> P. II 118.

<sup>78</sup> P. II 112.

<sup>79</sup> P. II 95; O., *Collectiones medicae* 50, 5 (IV 58).

<sup>80</sup> P. II 94; O., *Collectiones medicae* 50, 3 (IV 57).

<sup>81</sup> P. II 97; O., *Collectiones medicae* 50, 8 (IV 59–60).

<sup>82</sup> P. II 98; A. XVI 149.

<sup>83</sup> P. II 99; A. XVI 149.

<sup>84</sup> P. II 111; A. XVI 149.

<sup>85</sup> P. II 112.

<sup>86</sup> P. II 173.

<sup>87</sup> P. II 118–20; O., *Collectiones medicae* 44, 12. 44, 19. 44, 20 (III 125–8, 133–5, 135–42).

<sup>88</sup> P. II 120; O., *Collectiones medicae* 44, 21 (III 142–4).

<sup>89</sup> O., *Collectiones medicae* 44, 10 (III 123–4).

<sup>90</sup> P. II 124.

## TRAUMATOLOGY AND ORTHOPEDICS

Operations: All possible reductions of simple and complicated bone fractures<sup>91</sup> and repositions of luxation<sup>92</sup>, extractions of arrows, spears etc. including Gastro-, Duodeno-, Jejuno-, Colono-, and Vesicorhaphy<sup>93</sup>.

Instruments: *Anaboleus* (elevator), *Antiboladion* (bone lever), *Beloulkos* (arrow or bullet forceps), *Dioster* (impellent), *Ekkopeus* (bone cutting forceps), *Gamphoter* (chisel), *Mele traumatike* (specillum vulnearium), *Mochliskos* (bone lever), *Ostagra* (bone forceps), *Ostanaboleus* (bone lever), *Ostenchytes* (bone irrigator), *Osteokopos* (bone cutting instrument), *Perilabeus* (bone reduction instrument), *Perixyster/s* (raspatorium), *Prion* (saw), *Rizagra* (bone remover), *Narthex* (melleus), *Rine* (rasp), *Spathe ipotris* (reduction instrument), *Sphenarion* (cuneolus), *Spheniskoi* (small cuneoli), *Sphyra*, *Spyrion* (hammer), *Xyster* (raspatorium), *Xystron* (scraper).

## WOUNDCARE

Operations: Wound cleansing, Wound cauterizing, Wound excision, with several plastic corrections of the wound.

Instruments: *Angter* (pincer and/or bandage), *Atherologion* (foreign bodies remover), *Desmos* (bonds of surgical bed), *Epidesmos* (bandage), *Iska* (sponge-like plant growing on trees), *Lemniskos* (woolen thread), *Likonymos* (ligature?), *Motos* (wound powder and/or gauze, etc.), *Motophylax* (bandage to keep motos in place), *Pessos* (wick or pessary), *Ptygmation* (gauze), *Spongos* (sponge), *Tainia* (strap, ribbon), *Tiltos* (lint), *Telamon* (bandage and/or tourniquet), *Xanton* (lint).

## UNCLASSIFIED

Operations: Several operations cannot be clearly classified under any one specialty. They have been omitted from this list. There are, however, several instruments that were of importance. They could have been used in several specialties.

Instruments: *Charaktes* (stylus?, trephine?), *Cherniboxeston chalkoun* (copper wash basin), *Deltarion* (deltashape instrument, cautery?), *Deltos* (medical box), *Diedrion* (twin chairs), *Encheiridion* (instruments case), *Ipoterion* (papyrus stent to hold solenarion), *Kyathos* (spoon-like instrument ?), *Kyrtis* (strainer), *Lekanis* (washing bowl), *Louterion* (bathing-tube), *Physiter* (air bellows), *Prasia* (?), *Skythomyle* (sort of a probe).

The list of instruments presented above is also indicative of the need for specialized medical instruments and of their wide use<sup>94</sup>. It also enlightens our knowledge as to the quality of medicine practiced. Most of these types of instruments are still in use and 30% of them, still today, bear the same name in Modern Greek. This is also valid for many surgical instruments of today, that have kept the same name even in English (approx. 10%), e.g. *Kauter*-cautery, *Trypanon*-trepan, *Embryotomos*-embryotome, *Katheter*-catheter, *Pessos*-pessary. Other instruments' names kept in English retained the Latin derivative of the original name (e.g. raspatorium, forceps, spatula, trocar, or cuneolus), underlining the great influence of Byzantine medicine on the West<sup>95</sup>.

<sup>91</sup> P. II 129, 136, 142, 146, 148–63; O., *Collectiones medicae* 46, 4 and 47, 2 (III 215, 242–3).

<sup>92</sup> P. II 163–81; O., *Collectiones medicae* 46, 4 (III 215).

<sup>93</sup> P. II 129.

<sup>94</sup> However, compare the rather sceptical position (taken against a frequent use of chirurgical techniques in the middle and late Byzantine period), expressed by E. KISLINGER in *BZ* 94 (2001) 878.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. K.-D. FISCHER, "Universorum ferramentorum nomina". *Frühmittelalterliche Listen chirurgischer Instrumente und ihr griechisches Vorbild. Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 22 (1987) 28–44.



MICHAEL GRÜNBART

## Spartans and Sybarites at the Golden Horn: Food as Necessity and/or luxury

This short paper begins with the presentation of a simple diagram designed to illustrate which terms may be connected with nutrition and food and at what variety of levels. On the left-hand side you have designated the physical, on the right-hand side the cultural and cult necessities.

necessity (physical)	necessity (cultural)
<b>F o o d</b>	
diet (medical)	diet (religious, “ceremonial”) luxury courtesy

### SOURCES

I will focus on two branches of Byzantine rhetorical literature: letters and speeches. Letters have been recognised as important sources for material culture, but our work is not done merely by listing realia and by putting them into categories of condition or material. One should also try to determine why realia are mentioned, or why something should be presented to a person<sup>1</sup>. What does it mean when an individual receives dried fish? Is it diet (in a religious context), is it necessity (hunger being the reason), is it luxury (a special kind of fish) or is it even courtesy (cultural necessity)?

Speeches provide some insights into material culture with regard to court culture<sup>2</sup>. Several speeches especially of the Komnenian period offer some information upon our topic.

In the limited space of this contribution, which is arranged in three main parts, some characteristic examples presented here shall serve to provide an outline and illustrate some tendencies. I am, of course, aware that a more detailed study of the sources would yield much more satisfactory conclusions. In general, the examples are connected with the emperor, both as a benefactor and as a beneficiary<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A. KARPOZELOS, Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X–XIIc. *BZ* 77 (1984) 20–37; IDEM, Realia in Byzantine Epistolography XIII–XVc. *BZ* 88 (1995) 68–84. See also P. MAGDALINO, The Literary Perception of Everyday Life in Byzantium. Some General Considerations and the Case of John Apokaukos. *BSI* 48 (1987) 28–38. On rhetoric and consumption see now L. GARLAND, The Rhetoric of Gluttony and Hunger in Twelfth-Century Byzantium. In: W. MAYER – S. TRZCIONKA (eds.), *Feast, Fast or Famine. Food and Drink in Byzantium (Byzantina Australiensia 15)*. Brisbane 2005, 43–55.

<sup>2</sup> See G. T. DENNIS, Imperial Panegyric. In: *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*. Edited by H. MAGUIRE. Washington, D.C. 1997, 131–40.

<sup>3</sup> See in general K.-H. LEVEN, Festmähler beim Basileus. In: *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter. Paderborner Symposium des Mediävistenverbandes*. Hrsg. von D. ALTENBURG. Sigmaringen 1991, 87–93.

### I. Necessity

The necessity of food is often described in historiographic sources. In an exhaustive study recently published, Dionysios Stathakopoulos examined the relationship between diseases and the shortage of food in the early Byzantine Empire (up to the eighth century)<sup>4</sup>.

Because it is not a *topos* of the genre, rhetorical texts seldom include statements or reports concerning the need for food<sup>5</sup>. But necessity can trigger the creation of a rhetorical text, as was the case in 1168/69 when a severe winter combined with a water shortage in Constantinople caused Eustathios Kataphlaron, later bishop of Thessalonica, to address a speech full with biblical reminiscences and quotations to Emperor Manuel I. Eustathios appealed to Manuel to take action against the state of emergency, and it seems the rhetor's effort was rewarded: evidence in the historical sources tells us that an aqueduct was repaired<sup>6</sup>.

More often, wishes and desires are expressed in letters to the emperor. In contrast to middle Byzantine letter-writing, a characteristic feature of late Byzantine epistolography seems to have been appeals to the ruler or to high officials for something, as Karpozilos has pointed out. Collections of the Palaeologan era provide rich material for studies on *realia*.

The 1420s were a period of poor harvests and famine; these circumstances are reflected in letter-collections of the time. Michael Gabras sent several letters to the ruler and to state officials requesting wheat and barley. It is quite likely that the letters were written during a period of famine in Constantinople. He also asks for salt. In a letter to the supervisors of the salt-works (ἀλῶν φύλακες), the brothers Chrysoloras, he requests a free shipment of salt<sup>7</sup>. On the other hand, he never thinks about taking gold from the imperial treasury. But one must keep in mind that Gabras was a person who always wanted to receive things for free<sup>8</sup>.

Several letters of Demetrios Kydones deal with products from the garden he owned in Constantinople<sup>9</sup>. Every year he sent apples (μήλα) and medlars (μέσπιλα; modern Greek μούσμουλον)<sup>10</sup> to the Emperor Manuel II<sup>11</sup>, to the Empress Helena Palaeologina<sup>12</sup>, and to his friends<sup>13</sup>. These gifts were not only given out of courtesy, but it seems that there was a certain need for Kydones' products at the court. He had to excuse himself for only sending a limited quantity to his friends, because the emperor had such a large claim on his grove<sup>14</sup> and he had some trouble in filling all his orders<sup>15</sup>.

Kydones is not a unique case. Also Eustathios of Thessalonica sent his own horticultural products to the emperor and to his friends<sup>16</sup>. It seems that there was a certain need for fresh products in the Constantinopolitan palace during these centuries<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> D. STATHAKOPOULOS, *Famine and Pestilence in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Empire: A Systematic Survey of Subsistence Crises and Epidemics* (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs 9). Aldershot 2003.

<sup>5</sup> As the author of begging poetry Ptochoprodromos should be mentioned. See H. EIDENEIER (ed.), *Ptochoprodromos. Einführung, kritische Ausgabe, deutsche Übersetzung, Glossar* (Neograeca Medii Aevi 5). Cologne 1991, especially poems I and II. R. BEATON, *The Rhetoric of Poverty: The Lives and Opinions of Theodore Prodromos*. *BMGS* 11 (1987) 1–28.

<sup>6</sup> See the interpretation of P. KAZHDAN – S. FRANKLIN, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Cambridge 1984, 122. Cf. K. ÇEÇEN, *Sinan's water supply system in Istanbul*. Istanbul 1992, 20. – Repairing aqueducts is a *topos* in the imperial rhetoric, see F. H. TINNEFELD, *Kategorien der Kaiserkritik in der byzantinischen Historiographie von Prokop bis Niketas Choniates*. Munich 1971, see e.g. 33, 176. Cf. also the contribution of E. Kislinger in this volume.

<sup>7</sup> G. FATOUROS, *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras* (ca. 1290–nach 1350). I–II (*WBS* X/1–2). Vienna 1973, II 695s. (ep. 454).

<sup>8</sup> See KARPOZELOS, *Realia in Byzantine Epistolography XIII–XVc.* (see n. 1), 75.

<sup>9</sup> Edition by R. J. LOENERTZ, *Démétrios Cydones, Correspondance* (*StT* 186, 206). Vatican 1956–1960. See now G. T. DENNIS, *Reality in the Letters of Demetrius Cydones*. In: *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*. Ed. by Ch. DENDRINOS – J. HARRIS – Eirene HARVALIA-CROOK – Judith HERRIN. Aldershot 2003, 401–10.

<sup>10</sup> See DENNIS, *Reality in the Letters of Demetrius Cydones* (see. n. 9), 402 fn. 11.

<sup>11</sup> Demetrios Kydones, ep. 424 (LOENERTZ).

<sup>12</sup> Demetrios Kydones, ep. 143 (LOENERTZ).

<sup>13</sup> Demetrios Kydones, epp. 29, 295, 405.

<sup>14</sup> Demetrios Kydones, ep. 186 (LOENERTZ) (to Constantine Asanes).

<sup>15</sup> Demetrios Kydones, ep. 81 (LOENERTZ).

<sup>16</sup> Th. L. F. TAFEL, *Eustathii metropolitae Thessalonicensis opuscula*. Frankfurt am Main 1832 (reprint Amsterdam 1964). On Byzantines and their gardens see A. LITTLEWOOD (ed.), *Byzantine Garden Culture*. Washington, D.C. 2002.

<sup>17</sup> For fresh vegetable in general see J. KODER, *Gemüse in Byzanz: Die Versorgung Konstantinopels mit Frischgemüse im Lichte der Geoponika* (*Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, Ergänzungsband* 3). Vienna 1993; cf. IDEM, *Fresh vegetables for the capital*. In:

## 2. Diet

I use the term diet in the sense of “a particular selection of food especially as prescribed to improve the physical condition, to cure a disease”. Diet implies a rule to follow. It constitutes an important part of religious life. For monks, fasting was an ideal, but also commoners had to abstain from food at certain times. The Byzantine ecclesiastical year recognises four fasting periods (i. Christmas, from Nov. 15th to Christmas [40 days], ii. Easter [40 days], iii. fasting from the Orthodox All Saints day, to June 28th, and iv. fasting from August 1st to 15th, Koimesis). Altogether, a pious person in Byzantium fasted for nearly half a year (170 days). Leaving out a discussion of religious restrictions on diet, I shall now turn to other forms of diet defined by cultural necessities.

The Byzantine emperors had to conform to ideals, including the ideal of modest nutrition<sup>18</sup>. In the eulogion of Anna Komnene, George Tornikes writes that Anna’s father Alexios I followed the ideal of ἐγκράτεια (self-control), sitting at a luxuriously laid table<sup>19</sup>. Writers sometimes criticize a ruler’s intemperance, for example when Niketas Choniates calls Isaakios II a Sybarite<sup>20</sup>. On the other hand, Isaakios’ predecessor, Andronikos I, is described as a modest eater<sup>21</sup>.

Theodore Dukas left a letter collection that gives some insight into his private life, including his dietary habits. We can read what foods the emperor particularly enjoyed. He often suffered from epileptic seizures and was therefore on a strict diet – a diet for medical reasons! In one of his letters to Akropolites he writes that he mostly missed oysters (ὄστρεα = food of the angels), cabbage (which was cooked and then placed in brine and vinegar), and the sharp taste of cardamom. He also enjoyed various kinds of gruel (γρουτικά), caviar (χαβιάρια), botargo (ὠτοάριχα), sturgeon caviar and Samian wine<sup>22</sup>.

Let us return to the epistolography of the tenth century. A part of the correspondence between Theodore, metropolitan of Kyzikos, and Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos has come down to us<sup>23</sup>. The epistolographic contact between these figures is characterized by affection and courtesy, and by a richness of gift exchange. The correspondence opens with a letter from Constantine, accompanied by gifts for the holy man, who is celebrating some unidentified event. Constantine sends fine wine (ἀνθοσμίαν οἶνον) and fine bread (ἐκ σεμιδάλεως πυροῦ τοῦ ἀρίστου λεπτοτάτους κρικέλλους), two common foodstuffs exchanged during the fasting period<sup>24</sup>.

Constantine addresses Theodore as Ὀλυμπιακός, which indicates that the cleric is on the Bithynian holy mountain<sup>25</sup>. Constantine describes the whereabouts of Theodore in the manner of a „locus amoenus“ (in terms of his supply of fresh air, water and food)<sup>26</sup>. Theodore responds, “even if fresh winds from the mountains are blowing and the coldness of water scares away the heat and the use of lettuce lightens the hot weather, nothing more than a letter from Constantine will comfort me.”<sup>27</sup> And he presents to the emperor along with the letter, lettuces from Olympos, and these he calls ὀλύμπια δῶρα. He also presents a golden Arabian (cup)<sup>28</sup>.

C. MANGO – G. DAGRON (eds.), Constantinople and Its Hinterland. Papers from the Twenty-Seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, April 1993 (*Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies, Publications* 3). Aldershot 1995, 49–56.

<sup>18</sup> A. KAZHDAN – G. CONSTABLE, People and Power in Byzantium. An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies. Washington, D.C. 1984, 55: “One of the aspects of wealth is diet”.

<sup>19</sup> J. DARROUZÈS, Georges et Démétrios Tornikès, Lettres et discours (*Le monde byzantin*). Paris 1970, 237, 24ss.

<sup>20</sup> Nicetae Choniatae historia. Rec. I. A. VAN DIETEN (*CFHB* XI/1–2). Berlin 1975, 441, 10. – The motif of Sybaris is very common in Byzantine literature (e.g. Gregory Antiochos letter, ed. DARROUZÈS, *BSI* 24 [1963] line 75: Βουλγαρία καὶ Σύβαρις διεσπότηκατον).

<sup>21</sup> Nicetae Choniatae historia 351, 56ss. (VAN DIETEN)

<sup>22</sup> N. FESTA (ed.), Theodori Ducae Lascaris epistulae CCXVII (*Pubblicazioni del r. istituto di studi superiori pratici e di perfezionamento, Sezione di filosofia e lettere*). Florence 1898, ep. 54.

<sup>23</sup> J. DARROUZÈS (ed.), Épistoliers byzantins du X<sup>e</sup> siècle (*Archives de l’Orient chrétien* 6). Paris 1960, 317–41.

<sup>24</sup> See KARPOZELOS, Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X–XIIc. (see n. 1), 27: „It appears that during and after a prolonged fasting period it was the custom to send to someone who was undergoing the rigours of abstinence bread, wine and fruit“ (Karpozelos includes several examples); contrary to Karpozelos Th. PRATSCH, Zum Briefcorpus des Symeon Magistros: Edition, Ordnung, Datierung. *JÖB* 55 (2005) 71–86, 76, offers a different interpretation and argues that the emperor sent wine and fruit at the beginning of his reign.

<sup>25</sup> Constantine VII, ep. 10, 2 (DARROUZÈS).

<sup>26</sup> Constantine VII, ep. 10, 3s. (DARROUZÈS).

<sup>27</sup> Theodore of Kyzikos, ep. 11, 2–12 (DARROUZÈS).

<sup>28</sup> Theodore of Kyzikos, ep. 12, 3ss. (DARROUZÈS).

Was lettuce such a precious thing, that it is worthy of being presented to the emperor? In any case Constantine receives it with pleasure, and he writes to Theodore an emphatic letter. The first words of Constantine form a pun on Theodore's name ("we know you as a gift of God, Theodore from God")<sup>29</sup> and he builds up a religious connotation from the beginning. He writes: "I thank the sender for receiving lettuce from the mountains and I esteem them *more than honey and honey-comb*."<sup>30</sup> Darrouzès briefly remarks upon this letter, that fruits from the mountains, herbs, salad etc. are popular in the Orient up to this day. He asks: « N-y a-t-il pas aussi l'indication d'une gêne domestique? »<sup>31</sup>

Contemporary sources provide further illumination upon this problem. Liutprand of Cremona comments on a banquet at the court<sup>32</sup>. He mocks the emperor Nikephoros II Phokas for eating lettuce. Little did he know that Nikephoros perhaps ate lettuce as part of pious imperial ideology, which proscribed simple and modest living<sup>33</sup>. In contrast to the Byzantine ideal, western rulers were expected to be big eaters, as good appetite symbolised strength and power<sup>34</sup>. Liutprand idealizes Otto I because of Otto's fondness for large meals.

To sum up, this interaction between two friends (a cleric and the ruler) likely took place during a fasting period. The religious background seems clear when we put the letters together. As Karpozilos notes, "It appears that during and after a prolonged fasting period it was the custom to send to the individual who was undergoing the rigours of abstinence bread, wine and fruit"<sup>35</sup>. And as for the Arabic wine cup? Perhaps Theodore was hinting subtly at his need. In any case the emperor did indeed send him wine ...

### 3. Luxury

What is luxury? It is easy to detect Byzantine luxurious and precious artefacts in modern museums (golden reliquaries, silk, etc.). They survived during the centuries, because every era appreciated them as luxury objects<sup>36</sup>.

It is more difficult, however, to grasp the idea of luxury in written sources. First we have to attempt to separate the extraordinary from the usual, the average, the every-day. In modern times, this might mean the difference between delicatessen foods and plain fare. Admittedly, this differentiation is easiest to achieve when looking at the circumstances. Nevertheless we can use things surrounding the imperial court as a starting point for further investigations in other milieus.

The sphere of the Byzantine emperor is defined by luxury as belonging to his status (as well as to that of every other ruler), in contrast to that which his subjects could afford. Insignia and ceremony used to demonstrate the ruler's power were particularly important in this system. Liutprand, for instance, was overwhelmed

<sup>29</sup> Δῶρον σε Θεοῦ, ἴσμεν, ᾧ Θεοῦ Θεόδωρε.

<sup>30</sup> Ep. 12, 3–5 DARROUZÈS: ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς ὀρεινὰς ἀπολαβὼν θρίδακας καὶ νοστήμους ταύτας ὑπὲρ μέλι καὶ κηρίον λογισάμενος ἡχάριστῃσα τῷ πεπομφότι.

<sup>31</sup> Constantine VII, ep. 13, note 8 (DARROUZÈS).

<sup>32</sup> Th. WEBER, Essen und Trinken im Konstantinopel des 10. Jahrhunderts nach den Berichten Liutprands von Cremona. In: J. KODER – Th. WEBER, Liutprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel (BV XIII). Vienna 1980, 71–99. – On the symbolism of meals see G. ALTHOFF, Der Frieden-, bündnis-, gemeinschaftsstiftende Charakter des Mahles. In: Irmgard BRITSCH (ed.), Essen und Trinken in Mittelalter und Neuzeit: Vorträge eines interdisziplinären Symposions vom 10. – 13. Juni 1987 an der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen. Sigmaringen 1990, 13–25.

<sup>33</sup> O. TREITINGER, Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell. Darmstadt 1956, 101–4.

<sup>34</sup> See e.g. O. HOLDER-EGGER (ed.), Einhardus, Vita Karoli Magni (MGH SS 25). Hannover 1947 cap. 24: *In cibo et potu temperans, sed in potu temperantior, quippe qui ebrietatem in qualicumque homine, nedum in se ac suis, plurimum abhominabatur. Cibo enim non adeo abstinere poterat, ut saepe quereretur noxia corpori suo ess ieiunia. Convivabatur rarissime, et hoc praecipuis tantum festivitibus, tunc tamen cum magno hominum numero. Caena cotidiana quaternis tantum ferculis praebebatur, praeter assam, quam venatores veribus inferre solebant, qua ille libentius quam ullo alio cibo vescebatur.* "Charles was temperate in eating, and particularly so in drinking, for he abominated drunkenness in anybody, much more in himself and those of his household; but he could not easily abstain from food, and often complained that fasts injured his health. He very rarely gave entertainments, only on great feast-days, and then to large numbers of people. His meals ordinarily consisted of four courses, not counting the roast, which his huntsmen used to bring in on the spit; he was more fond of this than of any other dish." (S. E. TURNER, Einhard, The Life of Charlemagne. New York 1880).

<sup>35</sup> KARPOZELOS, Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X–XIIc. (see n.1), 27.

<sup>36</sup> See LESLIE BRUBAKER, Material Culture and the Myth of Byzantium, 750–950. In: Europa medievale e mondo bizantino. Contatti effettivi e possibilità di studi comparati (Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, Nuovi studi storici 40). Rome 1997, 33–41.

by the pomp of imperial ceremony. However he was less impressed by the dietary habits at court. Therein wealth and luxury are also detected through the foods that are served. A highly successful propaganda tool is and was to provide free food to the public while displaying the imperial affinity to luxury<sup>37</sup>. I wish to point out some wedding banquets that took place in the imperial city. In the course of this feast, speeches were given: in one speech, Eustathios celebrated the wedding of Alexios with Agnes in 1180<sup>38</sup>. The event took place in the hippodrome and the nearby area amidst huge crowds. Banks and tables were erected for the occasion, overloaded with luxurious dishes, mainly containing poultry. The emperor is said to have surpassed even the miraculous feeding of Israel in the desert, even though the heaven sent Manna. Wine flowed in great quantities and there were one or two cases where people had too much<sup>39</sup>. A similar feast with an equally opulent meal was held to celebrate the birth of Alexios in 1169. A (still unpublished) speech was composed for the event by Samuel Mauropous, chartophylax of the Hagia Sophia<sup>40</sup>.

In one of his letters, Eustathios of Thessalonica describes in detail a particular dish, which he received from the imperial kitchen, consisting of fried fowl stuffed with almonds and a sweet sauce. It took him nearly a whole letter to describe his delight. For the average Byzantine, it might have been a certain kind of luxury in itself to get anything from the imperial kitchen. But was it the same for someone with the social standing of Eustathios, who sent fruits of his own garden to the court?<sup>41</sup>

A similar example dates from the end of the thirteenth century. Theodore Laskaris sent an elaborate dish (ἔδεσμα) to his friend Akropolites, which his cooks prepared along with drinks. The emperor presented his luxurious gift, and such it was, out of courtesy to his friend<sup>42</sup>.

I have presented here only a few examples that show how food was perceived and presented in Byzantine rhetorical literature. This genre is valuable in discussions on aspects related to cultural history. Alas, we must probably endure a lot of detail on a rather limited list of food items until we obtain an exhaustive, coherent and comprehensive cultural history of food in Byzantium.

<sup>37</sup> TREITINGER, Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee (see n. 33), 229s.

<sup>38</sup> See now A. F. STONE, Eustathios and the Wedding Banquet for Alexios Porphyrogenetos. In: W. MAYER – S. TRZCIONKA (eds.), Feast, Fast or Famine. Food and Drink in Byzantium (*Byzantina Australiensia* 15). Brisbane 2005, 33–42.

<sup>39</sup> I. D. POLEMES, Ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τοῖς θεωρικοῖς δημοτελέσι τραπεζώμασι τοῦ Εὐσταθίου Θεσσαλονίκης. *Parnassos* 36 (1994) 402–20, 407, 13ss.: Ἐγεμον αἱ ἄμφοδοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, αἱ λεωφόροι οὐκέτι τοῦτο αὐτὸ καθεωρῶντο, ζωοφόροι μὲν οὖν δι' ἡμέρας καὶ ἐκ παντοδαπῶν ἔδωδῖμων καὶ ἐπὶ συχνὸν ἐβρέχοντο κρεανούμεναι σάρκες ὥσει καὶ χνοῦς καὶ κατὰ χύσιν ἄμμου πτηνὰ καὶ λοιπὴ δὲ πᾶσα σκευωρία γεῦσιν θέλγουσα καὶ ἦν τὸ χώριον τῆς ἀγορᾶς πλήρες χαρᾶς καὶ τρυφῶντων πανήγυρις.

<sup>40</sup> P. MAGDALINO, The Empire of Manuel Komnenos 1143–1180. Cambridge 1993 (reprint 2002), 464s.

<sup>41</sup> Th. L. F. TAFEL, Eustathii metropolitae Thessalonicensis opuscula. Frankfurt am Main 1832 (repr. Amsterdam 1964), 310–1.

<sup>42</sup> N. FESTA (ed.), Theodori Ducae Lascaris epistulae (see n. 22), 52, 77, 39–40.





JUSTIN (PRIESTMONK)

## Life in the Monastic Community: the Living Tradition of the Desert Fathers

When we think of the Desert Fathers, we recall the great Antony, Pachomios, Sisoës, the Fathers of Wadi Natrun. All of these are radiant spiritual luminaries, and monks of every age have stood in their shadow. Sinai remained more isolated, more sparsely settled, but it can be pointed out that Sinai need yield to none, in antiquity, or for excellence of monastic achievements<sup>1</sup>.

The monk Ammonios of Kanopos was a pilgrim to Sinai, and an eyewitness to an invasion of the Blemmyes in which forty monks of Sinai and forty monks of Rhaitho were martyred. He was present with Doulos, the Abbot of Sinai, when a monk named Psoes came, informing him of the devastation of Rhaitho, and asking to be allowed to live at Mount Sinai. He had lived at Rhaitho for twenty years. 'But there are others who have dwelt here for forty years, and for fifty, and for sixty, and for seventy years, who have dwelt in the same place.'

He told them, 'A certain Moses, having adopted the discipline of monasticism from his youth, practised monasticism for seventy-three years in that mountain from which springs of water issued.' 'And this saint, from the time that he took the habit of Christ, ate no flesh, but he ate dates only.' 'The food of that saint was a few dates, and water only. And he never tasted wine. And his dress was of compressed palm fibre. And he loved silence more than all men.' From the many miracles that God wrought through him, all the inhabitants of Pharan had come to believe in the Holy Trinity, and received holy Baptism<sup>2</sup>.

Lest a diet of dates sound exotic, we recall here the words of Charles Doughty, who travelled in Arabia in 1877–8, and witnessed what it was to subsist on such a diet.

The Arabians inhabit a land of dearth and hunger, and there is no worse food than the date, which they must eat in their few irrigated valleys. This fruit is overheating and inwardly fretting under a sultry climate: too much of cloying sweet, not ministering enough of brawn and bone; and therefore all the date-eaters are of a certain wearish visage. ... Where the date is eaten alone, as they themselves say, human nature decays, and they drink a lukewarm ground-water, which is seldom wholesome in these parts of the world<sup>3</sup>.

I was in Rhaitho this past June for the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul. The temperature registered 118F/47.7C degrees. A hot and searing breeze blew from across the Red Sea. It was yet another small insight into the heroism of the monks who lived there in centuries gone by.

Ammonios also tells about one Joseph from Eilath, who had a cell at Rhaitho two miles from the water. One of the brethren came to see him, and knocked on the door to his cell. Receiving no answer, he looked in and saw that Joseph had become a flame of fire from his head to his feet, and he continued wrapt in this vision for the space of five hours. Coming to himself, he opened the door and cured the thoughts of that brother, who returned to his own cell with his soul at peace. But understanding that he had been seen, Joseph departed from that place.

<sup>1</sup> See now U. DAHARI, *Monastic Settlements in South Sinai in the Byzantine Period: the Archaeological Remains (Israel Antiquities Authority, Reports 9)*. Jerusalem 2000.

<sup>2</sup> A. SMITH LEWIS, *The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert and the Story of Eulogius, from a Palestinian Syriac and Arabic Palimpsest (Horae Semiticae no. IX)*. Cambridge 1912, 4–5. See also C. MÜLLER-KESSLER – M. SOKOLOFF, *The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert, Eulogius the Stone-Cutter, and Anastasia*, in: *A Corpus of Christian Palestinian Aramaic, III*. Groningen 1996, 21–8.

<sup>3</sup> C. M. DOUGHTY, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, I. New York 1936, 190.

After the space of six years, he returned again to his disciple, informing him that this day was the last of his sojourn in the world. He spoke much with his disciple for the benefit of his soul.

And in that hour the old man stretched out his hands to heaven, and prayed, and slept in peace. And our brother his disciple ran immediately and assembled the holy fathers. And we took branches of palm-trees, and we went and with songs and with psalms we brought him into the church. And his face was shining like a light. And we kept a vigil over him all the night. And we laid him with the saints who slept there in the place. And these holy fathers were perfect and excellent in their discipline, and in prayer, and in their own polity<sup>4</sup>.

The events described by Ammonios allow us to date his account to the year 373<sup>5</sup>. Thus when he describes elders who have dwelt there as monks for sixty, for seventy, and more years, we understand that there was already an established monasticism at Sinai and Rhaitho in the third century, when persecutions were still raging against the Christians, when the great Antony was as yet living in the ruined fort, for he began to live there in 285, and lived there for twenty years. 'To the end of this sojourn belongs the first great wave of monastic settlement in the desert.'<sup>6</sup> Even then there dwelt ascetics at Sinai and Rhaitho who were established in virtue, who had attained to the pinnacles of prayer and spiritual graces.

Why did men depart into the desert to take up such a way of life? This must be seen first as a fulfilment of the commands of the Gospel. 'If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven' (Matthew xix 21). 'Take therefore no thought for the morrow' (Matthew vi 34). These were the words that inspired Saint Antony to leave the world and begin his spiritual ascent<sup>7</sup>.

But this must be seen also as a desire to follow the example of Christ Himself, Who 'humbled Himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross' (Phil. ii 8).

Obedience is one of the hallmarks of monasticism. Saint John Klimax has written much on obedience, the fourth step in his immortal *Ladder*. 'Obedience is the tomb of the will and the resurrection of humility.' 'Obedience is an abandonment of discernment in a wealth of discernment.'<sup>8</sup> This also must be seen as undertaken in likeness to Christ, Who was Himself obedient to the Father.

Our Lord's sayings too to His brethren are given to us in abundance; of His words to His Eternal Father but a few occasional specimens are recorded in Holy Writ. A few expressions occur at different periods of His ministry, and one remarkable chapter (St John xvii) which declares its completion. These all reveal the same truth respecting Our Lord's relation to the Father, that its single characteristic was Obedience. Thus did the Pattern Man render exactly that service, in which all His brethren had been wanting. ... Now, Our Lord declares the fulfilment of His Father's will to have been the very purpose of His being: 'I have glorified Thee on the earth; I have finished the work which Thou gavest Me to do.' Or again: 'What shall I say? Father save Me from this hour: but for this cause came I unto this hour.' And once more, even in His hour of agony did He exclaim: 'Nevertheless, not My will, but Thine be done.' ... The two wills which dwelt within Him moved together in perfect and unalterable harmony. What the Divine will prescribed, the human will completely responded to: 'For I came down from heaven, not to do Mine own will, but the will of Him that sent Me.' ...

The life of the Pattern Man, then, may be said to have been a continual setting forth of that duty of Obedience, which His brethren, the children of Adam, had failed to render. ... Yet there remained one thing still greater; for all mortal pangs are gathered together in that last and most fearful one, the tearing asunder of soul and body in death. Now, from this trial also Our Lord did not shrink. He was 'obedient unto death'. And in this part of His course lie those especial circumstances, which are declared in Holy Scripture to be the causes of man's redemption. For though He is said in general to be the 'last Adam', the 'second

<sup>4</sup> SMITH LEWIS, *The Forty Martyrs of Sinai*, 7; MÜLLER-KESSLER – SOKOLOFF, *The Forty Martyrs of Sinai* 30–6.

<sup>5</sup> H. SKROBUCHA, *Sinai*. London 1966, 20–7.

<sup>6</sup> A. ROBERTSON, *Life of Saint Antony* = A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, second series, IV. Peabody, MA. 1995, 190.

<sup>7</sup> ROBERTSON, *Life of Saint Antony* 196.

<sup>8</sup> Saint John Climacus, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, trans. by Archimandrite L. MOORE. Boston 1978, 21.

Man', yet it is with His Death and Passion that His sacrifice for sin is expressly connected. For 'we have redemption through His blood', says the Apostle twice over, 'the forgiveness of sins'. He has 'made peace through the blood of His cross', and He came 'to give His life a ransom for many'<sup>9</sup>.

This understanding of the Divine and human wills in Christ is to be found in the writings of Saint Maximus the Confessor. As Andrew Louth has observed:

There are two natural wills, for the Incarnation is itself the expression of the divine will, that is common to the Persons of the Trinity, who are consubstantial one with another, and entails the assumption of human nature including the natural human will which is 'the power that longs for what is natural'. But there are not two 'gnomic' wills: there is not really any 'gnomic' will at all, for the process of formulating an intention (*gnômê*) as a necessary stage in coming to a decision and acting on it is not part of the 'mode of existence' of a divine Person at all, who is not to be thought of as deprived of knowledge of the good. What happens in the Incarnation is that 'the Incarnate Word possesses as a human being the natural disposition to will, and this is moved and shaped by the divine will'<sup>10</sup>.

Submission to the will of God. Here we have one signal virtue. To take it up is to be conformed to Christ. But how is this to be accomplished? In answer to this we must look to the full spectrum of the experience and accomplishments of the Desert Fathers. But this understanding of obedience can provide an important insight into that inheritance. Striving earnestly to fulfil the Gospel, the Desert Fathers mapped out the terrain of the spiritual life, and that map has remained the same to this day.

They were very strenuous, afflicting themselves with confinement, hunger, thirst, deprivation of sleep, setting aside their own will in all things in their longing to be conformed to the Divine will. They were earnest about the Faith, for they understood that to be in heresy is to be separated from God<sup>11</sup>. But they also understood the disquietude that results from contentions about dogma. 'Flee from discussions of dogma as from an unruly lion; and never embark upon them yourself, either with those raised in the Church, or with strangers.'<sup>12</sup>

Yet such austerities and such zeal gave birth to gentleness, sensitivity, earnest care to avoid giving any offence. 'It is better for things of the body to perish with the body than for something pertaining to the soul to be hurt.'<sup>13</sup> Nor did they presume, even after a lifetime of labours, that they had become approved of God, but they preserved a sublime humility to the very end. This may be seen as the seal upon all their labours.

The abbot Agatho said, 'A monk ought not to have his conscience able to accuse him in aught whatsoever.' Now when the aforesaid abbot Agatho was dying, he remained for three days motionless, holding his eyes open. And the brethren shook him, saying, 'Father, where art thou?' And he answered, 'I stand in sight of the divine Judgement.' And they said, 'Art thou afraid?' And he said, 'Here I have toiled with what strength I had to keep the commandments of God: but I am a man, and I know not whether my works have been pleasing in His sight.' The brethren say to him, 'And hast thou no confidence that thy works are according to God?' And the old man said, 'I do not presume, until I have come before God: for the judgements of God are other than the judgements of men.' And when they would have questioned him for further speech, he said to them, 'Show me your love and speak not to me, for I am busy.' And this said, straightway with joy he sent forth his spirit. For they saw him gathering his spirit together, as one who greets his dear friends. He had great guard in all things and used to say, that without watchfulness a man may climb to no virtue<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> R. I. WILBERFORCE, *The Doctrine of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ in its Relation to Mankind and to the Church*. London 1849, 222–5.

<sup>10</sup> A. LOUTH, *Maximus the Confessor*. London 1996, 61.

<sup>11</sup> *The Wit and Wisdom of the Christian Fathers of Egypt*, trans. by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE. London 1934, 51–2.

<sup>12</sup> *The Ascetical Homilies of Saint Isaac the Syrian*, trans. by D. MILLER. Boston 1984, 95.

<sup>13</sup> *The Ascetical Homilies of Saint Isaac the Syrian* 95.

<sup>14</sup> *The Desert Fathers*, trans. H. WADDELL. London 1936, 151–2.

But what of our own time? We read the following words with dismay,

Once the abbot Arsenios came to a certain place and there was a bed of reeds, and the reeds were shaken by the wind. And the old man said to the brethren, 'What is this rustling?' And they said, 'It is the reeds.' The old man said to them, 'Verily, if a man sits in quiet and hears the voice of a bird, he hath not the same quiet in his heart: how much more shall it be with you, that hear the sound of these reeds?'<sup>15</sup>

Is there a monk today who passes his time in such silence that the voice of a bird robs his heart of quiet? There are times at Sinai, especially at night, when not a sound is to be heard. And there are yet remote cells where one can experience something of the profound silence enjoyed by the Fathers of old. But in general things are very different today, and that not just at Saint Catherine's. After a drive of some six hours through the desert, and a flight of about half that time, a monk from Sinai finds himself in England. More distressingly, by the reverse, anyone from England can find himself at Sinai. And certainly many do: over one thousand every day, from all over the world, during the winter months especially, each one in quest of the silence and spirituality for which Sinai is renowned.

But if much has changed at Saint Catherine's in the last fifty years, much remains as it has always been. Rising at four o'clock in the morning, walking through the stillness of the desert night, entering the great sixth century basilica, lit at that time by only a few lamps and candles: these are moments that have remained intact from centuries gone by. The daily cycle of services, times of activity, of quiet – the context remains exactly as it has been.

A monastery may be a place of great beauty, with a venerable and celebrated spiritual heritage. But above all it must be a place where spirits stand already before the Judgement Seat of Christ, where hopes have already come to rest in that promised Kingdom which is to come.

The tradition of the Desert Fathers does continue. There is no sorrow that is not comforted on reading of their deeds. There is no pride but that it is humbled on recalling their accomplishments.

To live at Sinai is a continuous inspiration. It is written of Saint John Klimax, 'He took up the monastic yoke at Mount Sinai, and, I think, by the visible nature of the place itself, he was impelled and guided towards the invisible God.'<sup>16</sup> And the places of the martyrs' contest are forever hallowed, as we chant in the words of the hymn,

Blessed is the earth that was enriched by your blood, prizewinners of the Lord, and holy are the tabernacles that received your bodies; for in the stadium ye triumphed o'er the foe, and ye proclaimed Christ with boldness. Entreat Him, in that He is good, and pray that our souls be saved<sup>17</sup>.

We lament that Sinai is not as remote as it once was. But it may be that the world has grown smaller, and remote deserts and monasteries more accessible, in the dispensation of God, when the ancient spirituality preserved in such sanctuaries is now so needed in the world at large.

And what of the future? If there are admonitions in the Scriptures about the last times, such are also to be found among the words of the God-inspired Fathers of the desert.

A certain Egyptian father once went into ecstasy and became a witness of a spiritual vision. He saw three monks standing on the sea-shore. From the other shore he heard a voice: 'Receive wings and come to Me.' After the voice, two of the monks received fiery wings and flew across to the other shore. The third one remained where he was. He began to weep and wail. At last wings were given to him too, but not fiery ones – they were so weak that he flew across the sea only with great difficulty and trouble, often becoming so feeble that he sank into the sea. The first two monks represented the monasticism of early times, while the third represented the monasticism of the last times, poor in numbers and in accomplishments<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> The Desert Fathers 92.

<sup>16</sup> The Ladder of Divine Ascent, xxxiv.

<sup>17</sup> The Octoechos, Martyricon after the Second Reading of the Psalter in Matins for Wednesdays in Second Tone (Author's translation).

<sup>18</sup> I. BRIANCHANINOV, *The Arena: An Offering to Contemporary Monasticism*. Jordanville, NY 1983, 115. See also B. WARD, *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection*. London 1981, 88.



Abba John the Short quoted this logion, with the words that the last state was that of his own time. He lived in the third generation after Saint Antony, and witnessed the devastation of Scete that took place in the early fifth century<sup>19</sup>. Monks of every age since then have felt that their times were the times of feebleness in comparison to the heroism and accomplishments of the Fathers of old. And that is no less true of our own days.

This saying by Abba Ischyron, a contemporary of Abba John the Short, is another:

The holy Fathers prophesied concerning the last generation. They said, 'What have we accomplished?' And one of them, the great Abba Ischyron, answering said, 'We have fulfilled the commandments of God.' And they answering said, 'And those after us, what will they fulfil?' And he said, 'They will come to the half of what we have accomplished.' And they said, 'And those after them, what will they fulfil?' He said, 'The men of that generation will not have any accomplishment whatsoever, but temptation will come upon them; and those who are found trustworthy at that time, shall be found greater than both us and our Fathers<sup>20</sup>.

There is a danger in such sayings. A monk can make excuse for much with the words, 'What can we do? These are the last times.' The pull to feebleness may be abetted by precisely those sayings that were intended as a warning. We read in the Epistle to the Hebrews, 'Jesus Christ the same yesterday, and to day, and for ever' (Hebrews xiii 8). The way of spiritual ascent, of sanctification, remains the same today as it was for the Fathers of old.

But what do we understand of these warnings of a monasticism 'poor in numbers and in accomplishments', or 'bereft of any accomplishment whatsoever'? The first step of the *Ladder* is renunciation of the world. There are many ways in which this separation is slowly and even imperceptibly undermined. This may be with the best of intentions. It may be due to outward influences – ecclesiastical, spiritual, intellectual. It may also be an accommodation to the world on the part of monastics themselves. As renunciation of the world is the first step of the *Ladder*, so does this remain the bulwark of monastic life.

'Those who are found trustworthy at that time'. The imagery is that of metal tried by fire to essay its fineness. Such will be the trial, and such the feebleness of the spiritual life, that the little done in that day will be the equal of the accomplishments surpassing the bounds of human nature which were wrought of old. Such admonitions must be considered together with others found in Scripture: 'When the Son of man cometh, shall He find faith on the earth?' (Luke xviii 8). As conformity to Christ was seen as the first goal of the monastic life, so does this remain its final arbiter.

We conclude with two observations. This conference is dedicated to 'Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium'. Many of the objects that survive from Byzantine times are religious. They must be understood in their proper context, and that is the theology of the Incarnation and the economy of our salvation. Nor is this a context that has been lost. It is the experience in general of every Orthodox church. It is the inheritance in particular of those ecclesiastical institutions that trace a continuous tradition from Byzantine times.

And lastly, in this conference, a comparison between the state of the medical arts then and now must have come to mind on many occasions. Were the Byzantines ahead of their times? Did their concepts include aspects that are not considered as a whole today? Certainly there are many ways in which technology has changed since then.

But human nature does not change. The admonitions of the Desert Fathers are still penetrating, acute, poignant. And today, how many still experience sickness and suffering that are beyond alleviation. How many times is modern technology unavailing. Inner strengths, spiritual strengths, must yet be found. The ascetic struggles voluntarily undertaken by the Desert Fathers, their achievements, their triumphs, their transcendence of all things pertaining to this world, their witness to the abiding presence of God, assume a timeless significance.

<sup>19</sup> D. J. CHITTY, *The Desert a City*. Crestwood, NY. 1995, 66–8.

<sup>20</sup> PG 65, 241D, 244A (Author's translation). See *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection* 111; also BRIAN-CHANINOV, *The Arena* 115.



EWALD KISLINGER

## Being and Well-Being in Byzantium: The Case of Beverages\*

Twice in Byzantine history the Macedonian dynasty, founded by the emperor Basil I (867–886) was in danger of losing the throne to other aristocratic families. The Lakapenoi in the first half of the tenth century<sup>1</sup> as well as the Paphlagonians one hundred years<sup>2</sup> later already controlled the governments' day-to-day policy. But when they finally tried to take over total power, both of them failed.

By doing so in late 944 Stephen and Constantine Lakapenos even committed the foolish error of revolting against their own father. Romanos, the central figure and guarantor of the influence of the family had been confined to a monastery, in which soon afterwards the unsuccessful conspirators had to join him<sup>3</sup>. The father maliciously comments upon their arrival: *Caritas quae de me palacio expulit, filiacionem vestram non ibi diu esse permisit. O factum bene, quod me quam dudum praemisistis*. The new monastic routine, Romanos continues, differs a lot from the former life in the palace. No gourmet meal threatens one's health, instead *frigidior Goticis aqua decocto pruinis*<sup>4</sup> is available.

A cup of cold water, already in the Gospels, had symbolised a rather small offering (Matt 10: 42; Mark 9: 41), but it represented the basic need of life (John 4: 14; Rev 21: 6). Who offers it mercifully will receive reward in heaven (Matt 5: 7). A slight allusion to the purifying power of water, which washes away the sins and is the natural medium of salvation, also is present in the story.

On a more realistic level this small episode characterises and distinguishes the two paradigmatic lifestyles of Byzantine civilization, imperial and ascetic, right down to the simple but vital aspect of beverages. Instead of water colder than snow at the monastery the imperial table would have offered "sweet gifts of Bacchus, which Gaza had created and lovely Ascalon had given". Present were "the draughts that the farmer squeezed from the grapes of Methymna", and servants poured chrysattic wines into golden cups<sup>5</sup>. Whereas fresh water is essential for being<sup>6</sup>, tasty wine improves the quality of Well-Being. Byzantine society and life was shaped by both of them<sup>7</sup>, and it reflected aspects of their availability and abuse.

\* I would like to thank Professor Anna Muthesius for reading this text and for her extensive suggestions regarding language revisions.

<sup>1</sup> St. RUNCIMAN, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign. A Study of Tenth-Century Byzantium*. Cambridge 1929.

<sup>2</sup> *ODB* II 1365–6 (Michael IV and Michael V); T.K. LOUNGES, Χρονικόν περί της αναίρέσεως του Αποβασιλέως Κύρου Μιχαήλ του Καλαφάτου, του γεγονότος Καίσαρος, και των κατ' αυτήν συμβάντων. *Byzantiaka* 18 (1998) 73–104.

<sup>3</sup> Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* VI 434–7 (BEKKER). RUNCIMAN, *Lecapenus* 232–4.

<sup>4</sup> Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis* V 23 (144 BECKER). Th. WEBER, Essen und Trinken im Konstantinopel des 10. Jahrhunderts, nach den Berichten Liutprands of Cremona, in: J. KODER – Th. WEBER, *Liutprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel. Untersuchungen zum griechischen Sprachschatz und zu realienkundlichen Aussagen in seinen Werken (BV XIII)*. Wien 1980, 82–3. On the author, whose western origin explains the use of Latin, see J. N. SUTHERLAND, *Liudprand of Cremona, Bishop, Diplomat, Historian. Studies of the Man and his Age (Biblioteca degli "Studi Medievali" XIV)*. Spoleto 1988.

<sup>5</sup> Flavius Cresconius Corippus, *In laudem Justini Augusti minoris*, edited with translation and commentary by A. CAMERON. London 1976, III 87–100 describing the wines served at the coronation banquet. Cf. E. KISLINGER, *Zum Weinhandel in frühbyzantinischer Zeit. Tyche* 14 (1999) 141–56.

<sup>6</sup> In social hierarchy water and bread represented the level of poverty, see Procopius, *Secret history* XXVI 23 (III 162 HAURY – WIRTH).

<sup>7</sup> Other beverages like milk and beer played a minor to marginal role in Byzantine diet (Ph. KOUKOULES, Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός, V/1. Athens 1952, 121–2, 130–1; D. DZINO, *Sabaïarius: Beer, wine and Ammianus Marcellinus*, in: *Feast, Fast or Famine. Food and Drink in Byzantium*, ed. W. MAYER – S. TRZCIONKA. Brisbane 2005, 57–68) and therefore will not be considered here.

Due to climatic conditions it was rather difficult to obtain drinking-water everywhere and at all times, especially during the hot summer months<sup>8</sup>. “Rain-miracles”, a special type of wonder literature, attest to how the human experience of being at the mercy of nature and of believing in divine help<sup>9</sup>. Apart from this rational provisions were taken to try to prevent lack of water. Aqueducts, most of which had already been built in Roman times, supplied the major towns. Nevertheless, repairs (attested at Demetrias in Thessaly or at Herakleia Pontike<sup>10</sup>) and the building of several new structures (among others at Philippopolis / Plovdiv and Karystos<sup>11</sup>) reveal continuous demand under less favourable demographic and economic conditions. In the case of Constantinople the sophisticated and complex network of aqueducts could procure water even from regions as distant as 100 km away<sup>12</sup>. Large cisterns such as those of Aspar and Aetios<sup>13</sup> (with a capacity over 1,000,000 sq.m) collected the influx, but use of such vast storage means caused some loss in quality and taste.

Five different kinds of drinkable water can be distinguished according to medical authorities. Those coming from rivers and lakes should be avoided but supplies were from sources, wells and rain water<sup>14</sup>. Given such circumstances Romanos's offer to his sons was not so bad. It is not accidental that in modern Greek “nero”, deriving from “nearon” (which means fresh) signifies water<sup>15</sup>.

Walls and other fortifications shaped the appearance of strongholds, but their architects were aware that a successful defence also depended on secure availability of sufficient water<sup>16</sup>. Byzantine forces at Beroe near Antioch were forced to surrender to the Persians (540) as a result of the consumption of all water supplies by the army horses and mules whilst penned up in the citadel<sup>17</sup>. The besiegers of a town might interrupt the water-supply to accelerate its surrender, as happened in Rome during the Gothic-war and in 626 in Constantinople<sup>18</sup>. The field armies in their turn had also to care for sufficient water, because the enemy might have destroyed or poisoned the wells of the territory<sup>19</sup>. The canteen of each soldier was expected to contain water

<sup>8</sup> J. KODER, *Der Lebensraum der Byzantiner. Historisch-geographischer Abriß ihres mittelalterlichen Staates im östlichen Mittelmeerraum (Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber. Ergänzungsband 1)*. Wien 2001, 40–51; M. F. HENDY, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy, c.300–1450*. Cambridge 1985, 21–58.

<sup>9</sup> D. STATHAKOPOULOS, *Rain Miracles in Late Antiquity. An Essay in Typology*. *JÖB* 52 (2002) 73–87.

<sup>10</sup> J. KODER – F. HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia (TIB 1)*. Wien 1976, 145; K. BELKE, *Paphlagonien und Honorias (TIB 9)*. Wien 1996, 209, 212–3.

<sup>11</sup> P. SOUSTAL, *Thrakien (Thrake, Rodope und Haimimontos) (TIB 6)*. Wien 1991, 402–3; KODER – HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia* 183–4.

<sup>12</sup> C. MANGO, *The Water Supply of Constantinople*, in: *Constantinople and its hinterland (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies. Publications 3)*. Aldershot 1995, 9–18; F. DIRIMTEKIN, *Adduction de l'eau à Byzance dans la région dite Bulgarie. Cahiers archeologiques* 10 (1959) 217–43; K. CECEN, *Sinan's Water Supply System in Istanbul*. Istanbul 1992 and J. CROW – R. BAYLISS, *Water for the Queen of Cities: a review of recent research into the Byzantine and Early Ottoman water supply of Constantinople. Basilissa. Belfast, Byzantium and Beyond* 1 (2004) 27–49. Cf. the contribution of M. Grünbart in this volume.

<sup>13</sup> W. MÜLLER-WIENER, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*. Tübingen 1977, 271–85; P. FORCHHEIMER – J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Die byzantinischen Wasserbehälter von Konstantinopel (Byzantinische Denkmäler II)*. Wien 1893.

<sup>14</sup> Aetios of Amida, *Iatricorum libri XVI, libri I–IV*, ed. A. OLIVIERI (*CMG VIII/1*) Leipzig-Berlin 1935, 337–8 (III 165). Cf. Paul of Aegina, *Epitomae medicae, libri I–IV*, ed. I. L. HEIBERG (*CMG IX/1*). Leipzig-Berlin 1921, 33 (I 50). A. GARZYA, *L'eau dans la littérature médicale de l'antiquité tardive*, in: *L'eau, la santé et la maladie dans le monde grec (BCH Supplément XXVIII)*. Athènes-Paris 1994, 109–19.

<sup>15</sup> H. EIDENEIER, *Sogenannte christliche Tabuwörter im Griechischen (MBM 5)*. München 1968, 104–19.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. Dara on the Persian frontier: M. WHITBY, *Procopius' description of Dara (Buildings II 1–3)*, in: *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East, I–II*, ed. by Ph. FREEMAN and D. KENNEDY (*BAR Int. Series* 297/i–ii). Oxford 1986, II 737–8; Anastasioupolis in Thrace: Procopius, *Buildings IV 11, 11–12 (IV 144 HAURY – WIRTH)*; Thessalonica (AD 1185): Eustathius, *On the Capture of Thessalonica*, ed. St. KYRIAKIDIS. Palermo 1961, 76–8; fortresses of Semaluos and Taranta in Cappadocia: F. HILD – M. RESTLE, *Kappadokien (Kappadokia, Charsianon, Sebasteia und Lykandros) (TIB 2)*. Wien 1981, 276–7, 290–1; Sibia / Soublaion and Dorylaion in Phrygia: Euthymios Malakes, *Enkomiasitikos logos eis ton autokratora kyrin Manuel Komnenon*, ed. K.G. MPONES. *Theologia* 19 (1948) 547–8; Niketas Choniates, *Chronike diegesis*, ed. J. L. VAN DIETEN (*CFHB* 11). Berlin-New York 1975, 176. P. WIRTH, *Kaiser Manuel I. Komnenos und die Ostgrenze. Rückeroberung und Wiederaufbau der Festung Dorylaion. BZ* 55 (1962) 21–9.

<sup>17</sup> Procopius, *Wars II 7, 12–3 (I 179 HAURY – WIRTH)*.

<sup>18</sup> Procopius, *Wars VI 9, 1 (II 189 HAURY – WIRTH)*; Theophanes, *Chronographia* 440 (DE BOOR). On Thessalonica in 676/77 see *Miracula S. Demetrii II 4 / 247 (I 212–3 LEMERLE)*. At Petra (Lazica) the Persians had constructed a triple system of water supply to mislead the Byzantine besiegers: Procopius, *Wars IV 12, 21–7 (II 550–1 HAURY – WIRTH)*.

<sup>19</sup> Maurikios, *Strategikon IX 3 (320 DENNIS – GAMILLSCHEG)*. Niketas Choniates, *Chronike diegesis* 179 (VAN DIETEN).

– and not wine, as often seemed to occur<sup>20</sup>. Keeping a balance between military discipline and the satisfaction of the individual might prove a difficult task for the supreme command of the army. Preparations for a campaign against Crete in 911 included the provision of wine<sup>21</sup>, but military treatises strictly forbade a distribution of it before the battle<sup>22</sup>. After a first victorious battle against the Arabs on Crete (829 or later) the Byzantine forces rejoiced and much wine was consumed. When the enemies attacked again during the night the drunken soldiers could offer no resistance and were driven from the island<sup>23</sup>.

Seafaring depended on water and not only in a physical manner. Ships, especially those on long distance travel, had to be able to dispose of enough drinking water<sup>24</sup>. The sailor is unfortunately often obliged to slake his thirst with water that is little better than mire<sup>25</sup>. Spoilt water endangered the success of the fleet sent in 533 to conquer Vandal North Africa. Only storage in glass jars completely buried in sand in the hold of the ship preserved the water quality and saved the crews from death by dehydration<sup>26</sup>. This constitutes one reason, why medieval ships tried to avoid, if ever possible, passages on the high seas. Sailing along the coasts was preferred<sup>27</sup>, where fresh water could be easily supplied.

It does not seem a mere coincidence, that from the time of Antiquity, both regions along the sea and also nearby several islands along maritime trunk-routes, at one and the same time produced famous wines, e.g. Attica and Euboia or Western Asia Minor with Samos, Chios and Lesbos<sup>28</sup>. Their reputation also depended upon a geographic and communication-connected advantage. Commercial distribution (of wine) done by ship was faster and much cheaper than its transport overland<sup>29</sup>. “Some cities are located at a distance from the sea, whereas others have been built on the shores. Of these, those whose fate it was to dwell next to the sea are the truly prosperous cities. That which the earth bears for those inhabiting the city the sea receives, and that which the sea bears in return the land receives”<sup>30</sup>.

Such advantages and disadvantages of the traffic network affected markets and consumers, too. In his exile at Philippupolis, Nikephoros Basilakes (about 1160) complained in vain about the local wine, which almost foamed as a consequence of the addition of resin<sup>31</sup>. Unfortunately, it was the only type available. In the provinces, good wine from other areas – the high price of which would have been increased even further by the cost of transport on land – was not sufficiently in demand to make trade lucrative. The case of Michael Choniates is somewhat more complicated. The Metropolitan longed in vain for wines of good quality, even though he lived close to the sea, in Athens. This small twelfth-century settlement did not attract trade. Ships

<sup>20</sup> Maurikios, *Strategikon* VII A 10 (236 DENNIS – GAMILLSCHEG). Knowing about the soldier's preference for wine, the retiring enemy left back poisoned wine: T. KOLIAS, *Essgewohnheiten und Verpflegung im byzantinischen Heer*, in: *Byzantios. Festschrift für Herbert Hunger zum 70. Geburtstag*. Wien 1984, 193–202, esp. 201–2. Cf. F. COLLARD, *Timeas Danaos et dona ferentes. Remarques à propos d'un episode méconnu de la troisième croisade*, in: *Chemins d'outre-mer. Etudes sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balarud (Byzantina Sorbonensia 20)*. Paris 2004, 139–47.

<sup>21</sup> Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis* 658, 8–12 (REISKE). J. F. HALDON, *Theory and Practice in Tenth-Century Military Administration*. Chapters II, 44 and 45 of the *Book of Ceremonies*. *TM* 13 (2000) 210–11.

<sup>22</sup> Maurikios, *Strategikon* XII B 23 (484 DENNIS – GAMILLSCHEG), repeated in Leon (VI), *Taktika* XIV 92 (*PG* 107, 807B–C).

<sup>23</sup> Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia* II 25 (79–80 BEKKER). On the probable date see V. CHRISTIDES, *The conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 824). A turning point in the struggle between Byzantium and Islam*. Athens 1984, 3–4, 85–8 and D. TSOUGARAKIS, *Byzantine Crete. From the 5th Century to the Venetian conquest (Historical Monographs 4)*. Athens 1988, 41–6.

<sup>24</sup> J. PRYOR, *Geography, technology, and war. Studies in the maritime history of the Mediterranean, 649–1571*. Cambridge 1992, 75–86.

<sup>25</sup> Libanios, *Progymnasmata*, X. *Comparationes*, 4. *Synkrisis nautilias kai georgias* (VIII 350 FOERSTER).

<sup>26</sup> Procopius, *Wars* III 13, 23–4 (I 372 HAURY – WIRTH). A filtering procedure is described in Maurikios, *Strategikon* X 4 (350 DENNIS – GAMILLSCHEG).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. the detailed indications of the portulans: K. KRETSCHMER, *Die italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Meereskunde und des Geographischen Instituts an der Universität Berlin. Heft 13)*. Berlin 1909; A. DELATTE, *Les portulans grecs*. Paris 1947.

<sup>28</sup> Pliny, *Naturalis historia* XIV 73–9 (48–50 ANDRÉ). KOUKOULES, *Βίος* V/1, 124–7; KISLINGER, *Weinhandel* 143–4, 150.

<sup>29</sup> HENDY, *Byzantine Monetary Economy* 555–9.

<sup>30</sup> Libanios, *Progymnasmata*, XII. *Descriptiones*, 8. *Ekphrasis limenos* (VIII 483 FOERSTER). Translation by Sp. VRYONIS Jr., *Thalassa kai Hydor. The sea and the water in Byzantine literature*, in: *The Greeks and the Sea*, ed. Sp. VRYONIS Jr. New Rochelle 1993, 118–9.

<sup>31</sup> Nicephori Basilace orationes et epistulae, ed. A. GARZYA. Leipzig 1984, 115 (letter 4). Cf. Gregorios Antiochos about sour wine at Sofia: J. DARROUZÈS, *Deux lettres de Grégoire Antiochos écrites de Bulgarie vers 1173*. *BSI* 23 (1962) 280.



passed it by and products from the islands of Euboea, Rhodos and Chios poured into the rich city of Constantinople<sup>32</sup>.

The vast range of offerings finds its best expression in the luxury of the imperial table (cf. already above 147 with note 5). Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195) dined in a Sybaritic manner, “feasting on a laird of wild beast, a sea of fish and an ocean of deep-red wine”<sup>33</sup>. Abundance, however, may result in abuse. Emperor Michael III (842–867) *methystes* (the drunkard) is the classical example. He surrounded himself with a dastardly crowd of lusty and sinful men, with whom he, the wretch, spent his time – with rowdy parades and drunkenness as well as with the addiction and intellectual limitations related to the latter – altogether without any consideration for the dignity of imperial majesty. Reckless as he was when he was drunk, he committed every kind of heinous deed, and left the right path of law and order<sup>34</sup>. Suitable moderation (*prepon, prosekon*) was one of the obligatory virtues, which a ruler should exercise<sup>35</sup>.

Public opinion reacted rather sensitively to all transgressions; in the Hippodrome the masses ridiculed the drunken emperor Phokas (602–610) by shouting to him: *Palin eis to kaukon epies, palin ton noun apolesas* (Once again inside the wine-jug, once again out of your mind)<sup>36</sup>. Such critics reflect the impact of Christian rigour against wine-consumption: “Be sober, not addicted to wine, because drunkenness is followed by sin”<sup>37</sup>. “Drunkenness causes the ruin of reasoning, destruction of strength, premature ageing, and death within a short time”<sup>38</sup>. “Water is the best beverage, tempers the senses, whereas inebriation, which takes possession, makes the mind turbid”<sup>39</sup>.

But not every citizen of Constantinople felt himself at risk with plenty of wine. “If only I could also refresh myself with wine from Chios, maybe four jugs, I could burp freely and with joy, but I was never allowed to take even one small sip”<sup>40</sup>. The person, who thus laments is a simple monk of the Philotheou-monastery. He enviously watches the heads of the monastery, whose nutrition includes sweet wines from Ganos (Thrace), Crete and Samos<sup>41</sup>. The basic problem of whether or not monks should be allowed to drink wine at all (as Pachomios laid down in his rules<sup>42</sup>) was watered down in the course of time and became a question of quantity and quality. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century the genre of satire, to which the Ptochoprodromic poems belong, focuses on a social-hierarchic conflict about Well-Being denied to those who do not have through the access to more and better wine. Drinking pure water makes the monk feel sick<sup>43</sup> and become a *methystes*<sup>44</sup>. The ascetic

<sup>32</sup> Michaelis Choniatae epistulae, ed. F. KOLOVOU (CFHB 41). Berlin 2001, 69 (letter 50).

<sup>33</sup> Niketas Choniates, Chronike diegesis 441 (VAN DIETEN). English translation by H. J. MAGOULIAS, O City of Byzantium. Annals of Nicetas Choniates. Detroit 1984, 242.

<sup>34</sup> Theophanes Continuatus V 20 and 26 (243, 251–2 BEKKER). On the literary image of Michael III see R. J. H. JENKINS, Constantine VII's Portrait of Michael III. *Bull. Cl. Lett. Sc. mor. pol. Accad. Royale de Belgique* V 34 (1948) 71–7 (Reprint in IDEM, Studies on Byzantine History of the 9th and 10th Centuries. London 1970, no. IV); F. TINNEFELD, Kategorien der Kaiserkritik in der byzantinischen Historiographie. Von Prokop bis Niketas Choniates. München 1971, 98–101; E. KISLINGER, Der junge Basileios I. und die Bulgaren. *JÖB* 30 (1981) 137–9 with note 7.

<sup>35</sup> H. HUNGER, Prooimion. Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden (WBS 1). Wien 1964, 109–12.

<sup>36</sup> Theophanes, Chronographia 296 (DE BOOR).

<sup>37</sup> Gnomology of John Georgides, ed. P. ODORICO, Il prato e l'ape. Il sapere sentenzioso del monaco Giovanni (WBS XVII). Wien 1986, 198 (no. 704).

<sup>38</sup> Basil of Caesarea, In Ebriosos 7 (PG 31, 457B).

<sup>39</sup> Gregory of Nazianz, Carmina moralia I 2, 32, 31–2 (PG 37, 918A). On a similar position of John Chrysostomos see C. BROU, La vin, la santé et la maladie dans la predication de Jean Chrysostome, in: Vin et santé en Grèce ancienne, ed. J. JOUANNA – L. VILLARD – D. BÉGUIN (BCH Supplément XL). Athènes 2002, 269–89.

<sup>40</sup> Ptochoprodromos. Einführung, kritische Ausgabe, deutsche Übersetzung, Glossar, besorgt von H. EIDENEIER (*Neograeca mediaevi* V). Köln 1991, poem IV 181–2, 227–8 (148, 150).

<sup>41</sup> Ptochoprodromos, poem IV 332 (157 EIDENEIER). N. GÜNSENIN, Le vin de Ganos: les amphores et la mer, in: Eupsychia. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler, I–II (*Byzantina Sorbonensia* 16). Paris 1998, I 281–7.

<sup>42</sup> A. BOON – Th. LEFORT, Pachomiana Latina. Règles et épîtres de S. Pachome, épître de S. Théodore et “liber” de S. Orsiesius. Louvain 1932, 173/no. 15–XLV (an exception is granted only to ill monks). Already the contemporary realization seems to have been less severe, cf. the examples given in L. REGNAULT, The Day-to-Day Life of the Desert Fathers in Fourth-Century Egypt. Petersham, Mass. 1999, 76–8; L. A. SCHACHNER, “I greet you and the brethren. Here are fifteen šentaese of wine”. Wine production in the early monasteries of Egypt and the Levant. *ARAM* 17 (2005) 157–84.

<sup>43</sup> Ptochoprodromos, poem IV 134–5 (146 EIDENEIER).

<sup>44</sup> Ptochoprodromos, poem IV 133: *kai methysten ton ek nerou, nyn hydrokopiasmenon* (156 EIDENEIER).

ideal of diet, which mainly consisted of water, bread and a few vegetables<sup>45</sup> (and thus intentionally resembles the nourishment of the poor<sup>46</sup>) has lost significance here. Warm water with added caraway, pepper (and/or aniseed)<sup>47</sup>, a traditional monastic lenten-beverage<sup>48</sup>, is no longer considered a good mixture (*eukraton*)<sup>49</sup>, even watered (*nerokopemenos*) wine proves unsatisfactory<sup>50</sup>.

For centuries Byzantium had maintained the ancient custom of mixing strong wine with boiled water<sup>51</sup>. Its addition sometimes was the responsibility of a special servant<sup>52</sup>. One chapter of the so-called „Book of the Eparch“, which regulates the commercial activities of various professions in the capital – particularly those who make clothes or produce food – is concerned with the proprietors of taverns (*kapeloi*). In the evening, they are compelled to extinguish the fire beneath the kettles. The aim was not to prevent preparation of cooked meals. It was to remove the supply of warm water to dilute the wine, with the objective of hindering the guests from staying all night and in their drunkenness, indulging in arguments and violence<sup>53</sup>. At this time – in the early tenth century – it seemed superfluous to contrive a way of preventing the alternative, which is – in the absence of water – to continue drinking undiluted wine. Only a drunkard<sup>54</sup> would act in such a manner.

Liudprand of Cremona, who visited the Byzantine Empire three times in diplomatic missions<sup>55</sup>, did not share this Byzantine attitude. He criticises various bishops with whom he stayed on his way home and who were poor hosts: „On their table, one finds only rusk and they drink, or rather sip, bath water from tiny glasses“<sup>56</sup>. The Italian guest disliked the fact that the wine had been diluted with warm water and especially the small quantity of wine served. Emperor Nikephoros II (963–969), in a conversation with Liudprand, indirectly confirms the different approaches to nutrition, when he expressed his contempt about Latin voracity: „Your master’s troops are neither good at riding nor at fighting on foot. ... Furthermore, their gluttony hinders those whose stomach is their god, whose inebriation is their courage and whose drunkenness is their bravery. With an empty stomach they are weak and when they are sober they are full of fear“<sup>57</sup>.

At the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century we still encounter the gap between the occidental and the Byzantine way of drinking wine. According to the *Gesta regum Anglorum* by William of Malmesbury (V § 410 ed. Stubbs) King Sigurd of Norway visited Constantinople on his way back from the Holy Land. During his stay there, members of his retinue died in large numbers. Sigurd knew precisely why this occurred and how to

<sup>45</sup> To give only a few examples from hagiography (s. VIII–X): Life of St Athanasia of Aegina, ed. L. CARRAS, in: Maistor. Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning (*Byzantina Australiensia* 5). Canberra 1984, 214; Acta graeca SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii Mitylenae in insula Lesbo. *AnBoll* 18 (1899) 221, 224; La vita di San Fantino il Giovane, ed. E. FOLLIERI (*Subsidia Hagiographica* 77). Bruxelles 1993, 424–6 (ch. 21); The Life of St Irene, Abbess of Chrysobalanton, ed. J. O. ROSENQVIST (*Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia* 1). Uppsala 1986, 18 (ch. 6); Life of Theodore Studites. *PG* 99, 300A.

<sup>46</sup> E. PATLAGEAN, Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 4<sup>e</sup>–7<sup>e</sup> siècles (*Civilisations et Sociétés* 48). Paris 1977, 36–53. Cf. above note 6.

<sup>47</sup> Ptochoprodromos, poem IV 337, 617 (157, 172 EIDENEIER). Cf. Theodore Studites, Const. 30 (*PG* 99, 1716B).

<sup>48</sup> Typicon of the Theotokos-Euergetes-monastery, ed. P. GAUTIER. *REB* 40 (1982) 39 (line 444), 41 (line 463), 43 (lines 491–2); cf. Typicon of the Kecharitomene-monastery, ed. P. GAUTIER. *REB* 43 (1985) 95, 97 (lines 1345, 1382).

<sup>49</sup> Pratum spirituale, chapter 184 (*PG* 87/3, 3057B–C); Typicon of the Pantocrator-monastery, ed. P. GAUTIER. *REB* 32 (1974) 58–9 (line 492). There seems to be a bit of truth behind the satirical complaint, because the Euergetes-typicon (see note 48) in an addendum (lines 1344–58) limited its use – and alternatively granted wine – even during lenten time, because some monks had fallen ill by drinking *kyminaton*.

<sup>50</sup> Ptochoprodromos, poem IV 133, 396 (146, 160 EIDENEIER).

<sup>51</sup> P. VILLARD, Le mélange et ses problèmes. *Revue des études anciennes* 90 (1988) 19–33; M. D. DUNBABIN, Wine and Water at the Roman Convivium. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6 (1993) 128–40. Still today “krasi” (from *krasin* = drink, mingled with *krasis* = mixture or quantity necessary for a drink) is a Greek synonym for wine (*oinos*): EIDENEIER, Tabuwörter 55–84; IDEM, Zu “krasin”. *Hell* 23 (1970) 118–22.

<sup>52</sup> Source evidence in E. KISLINGER, Thermodotes – ein Beruf? *Klio* 68 (1986) 123–7.

<sup>53</sup> Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen, ed. J. KODER (*CFHB* 33). Wien 1991, 132 (ch. 19.3.).

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Theophanes Continuatus 251, 15 (BEKKER) concerning Michael III.

<sup>55</sup> See already note 4 above.

<sup>56</sup> Liutprand of Cremona, Relatio de legatione constantinopolitana, ch. 63 (211 BECKER): “... balneaque tunc vitro permodico non bibentes, sed sorbillantes”. WEBER, Essen und Trinken (as note 4) 76, 81.

<sup>57</sup> Liutprand of Cremona, Relatio de legatione constantinopolitana, ch. 11 (182 BECKER). Cf. the image of the “crusaders” of 1204 in Niketas Choniates, Chronike diegesis 594 (VAN DIETEN).

remedy the situation. He ordered that from now on those remaining should drink less wine and *aqua mixtum*, wine diluted with water<sup>58</sup>.

The local practice was imitated by doing so, but among the Byzantines drinking habits slowly began to change. No longer did the dangers of wine-drinking stand at the centre of literary attention. Michael Psellos, encyclopaedic scholar and courtier (born 1017/18, died after 1078), wrote in praise of wine for the first time since late Antiquity<sup>59</sup>. A friend, whom the author had freed from tooth-aches, had sent him some excellent wine. The donor suspects that this wine was responsible for his sufferings, which renders the gift a bit ambiguous, but Psellos and a guest gloat over such anxiety<sup>60</sup>. For centuries wine had been tolerated as a necessary ingredient of medical prescriptions<sup>61</sup>. Care for personal health could even offer a pretext for one to ask for wine<sup>62</sup>. Psellos illustrated how medical practice allowed for access to the pleasures of wine<sup>63</sup>. Certainly the text belonged to the genre of rhetoric and the same author dedicated other encomia to fleas and lice<sup>64</sup>, which does not mean that Psellos was particularly fond of them. But wine and Well-Being were repeatedly associated in the vast range of his writings. Another of the so-called *Oratoria minora* ridicules the son of a tavern-keeper, who in his quest for social advancement, has become a lawyer<sup>65</sup>. Now that the young academic is unemployed, he should reflect on whether it was really such a disgrace and so stressful to turn the skewered lamb or pork on the barbecue. As far as the process of serving wine is concerned, the text is much more explicit. Psellos makes use of this in order to allude to classical mythology and once again proves how educated and well-read he is. It is not necessary to have first-hand experience of the milieu in question. If he had any at all, Psellos cleverly puts such words into somebody else's mouth: „One moment he is sipping pure wine, the next he is mixing it, if only with a little tepid water, so as not to reduce the strength of the wine. Frequently he grasps the pitcher with both hands and raises it to his mouth. He is familiar with all the city's taverns and knows exactly where high-quality wines are served, where the darkest red wine is available and that the best wine of all is without a doubt the one from Chios. This is the strongest wine, he says, and whoever has it, does not need any other“<sup>66</sup>. Who might be the subject of such an ironically-critical account? It is Psellos' father-confessor, who, due to his titles *grammatikos* and *notarios*<sup>67</sup> must surely have acted as suitable company for the courtier.

The still indirect and cautious way in which Psellos approaches public drinking of undiluted wine appears to be typical of the beginning of a gradual change in Byzantine society. There was a trend towards a greater diversity of material culture, consumption and Well-Being in general from the eleventh century onwards<sup>68</sup>. The sources document more luxury in dressing<sup>69</sup>, manufacture of silken clothes ceased to be limited to Constantinople<sup>70</sup> and flourished also outside at Thebes or Corinth<sup>71</sup>. *Tryphe*, physical weakening which might

<sup>58</sup> R. HIESTAND, Skandinavische Kreuzfahrer, griechischer Wein und eine Leichenöffnung im Jahre 1110. *Würzburger medizinhistorische Mitteilungen* 7 (1989) 143–53.

<sup>59</sup> E.V. MALTESE, Per una storia del vino nella cultura bizantina: appunti dalla letteratura profana, in: *Storie del vino (Homo edens II)*. Milano 1991, 195–6, 199–201 (Reprint in IDEM, *Dimensioni bizantine. Donne, angeli e demoni nel medioevo greco*. Torino 1995, 93–110).

<sup>60</sup> Michael Psellos, *Enkomion eis ton oinon*, ed. A. R. LITTLEWOOD. Leipzig 1985, 110–6 (or. 30). R. VOLK, Der medizinische Inhalt der Schriften des Michael Psellos (*MBM* 32). München 1990, 280–6.

<sup>61</sup> A. GARZYA, Le vin dans la littérature médicale de l'antiquité tardive et Byzantine. *Filologia antica e moderna* 9/17 (1999) 13–25 (Reprint in *Vin et santé en Grèce ancienne = BCH Supplément XL*. Athènes 2002, 191–200).

<sup>62</sup> G. FATOUROS, Die Briefe des Michael Gabras (ca. 1290–1350), I–II (*WBS* 10/1–2). Wien 1973, II 163, 191 (letters 101 and 115); Théophylacte d'Achrida. *Lettres*, ed. P. GAUTIER (*CFHB* 16/2). Thessalonique 1986, 539 (letter 113).

<sup>63</sup> Cf. once again the Ptochoprodromic poem IV 584–5 (170 EIDENEIER), where the abbot's physicians receive a pay of ten gold-pieces or fifteen *metra* wine (approx. 120 litres).

<sup>64</sup> Michael Psellos, *Enkomion eis ten psyllan* and *Enkomion eis ten phtheira*, edd. A. R. LITTLEWOOD. Leipzig 1985, 97–101 (or. 27), 102–6 (or. 28). VOLK, *Inhalt* 245–56.

<sup>65</sup> Michael Psellos, *Eis tina kapelon genomenon nomikon*, ed. A. R. LITTLEWOOD. Leipzig 1985, 52–7 (or. 14).

<sup>66</sup> Michael Psellos, *Pros ton heautou papan*, ed. A. R. LITTLEWOOD. Leipzig 1985, 60–1 (or. 16).

<sup>67</sup> On these titles see *ODB* II 866 resp. III 1495.

<sup>68</sup> A.P. KAZHDAN – A.-W. EPSTEIN, Change in Byzantine culture in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Berkeley 1985, 74–83.

<sup>69</sup> KAZHDAN – EPSTEIN, *Change* 75–7.

<sup>70</sup> D. SIMON, Die byzantinischen Seidenzünfte. *BZ* 68 (1975) 23–46; D. JACOBY, The Jews and the Silk Industry of Constantinople, in: IDEM, *Byzantium, Late Romanism and the Mediterranean*. Aldershot 2001, 1–20 (no. XI).

<sup>71</sup> D. JACOBY, Silk in western Byzantium before the fourth Crusade. *BZ* 84/85 (1991/92) 452–500; IDEM, Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West. *DOP* 58 (2004) 197–240, esp. 219–27.

allow evil to enter, was no longer dreaded as much as before. The frequency of taking baths increased, monasteries opened their bath-houses to the public for payment<sup>72</sup>. Michael Choniates, Metropolitan of Athens, complained about the low standard of bathing facilities on the island of Kea. Only small huts, whose doors could not be closed, were available, so that the bathers suffered from smoke and heat and at the same time shivered from the draft<sup>73</sup> – and once again (see above 149–50 with note 32) another element of Well-Being, wines of good quality were missing<sup>74</sup>.

Conservative indignation about the new lifestyle arose. Emperor John II Komnenos (1118–1143) was highly critical of the haircuts and the shoe-styles at court and he cleared the palace of profligacy in food<sup>75</sup>. On the other hand, Manuel II (1143–1180) knew quite well, how to satisfy the common people. On the occasion of the wedding of his son Alexios with Agnes of France, the inhabitants of the capital were invited to a public banquet: "...wine was not drunk in allotted portions ... nor in the manner of the cup of friendship, *mixing the pure wine with water*, but just as every one wished it. Some were more prudent, those to whom it was important to be in control of themselves ... others were more headstrong, those who needed only one thing, to go away more heavy and be loaded beyond measure, being served with what they desired by widening their stomachs as if they were barns .. The wineskins provided by nature did not contain their excess, but they cast forth the surplus"<sup>76</sup>. Even high officials now intentionally displayed similar excessiveness. Kamateros, minister of Manuel, made a bet with the Emperor, that he would succeed in drinking up a huge *lekanis*. This bowl, which held nearly 7 litres (1,5 gal), was filled to the brim with water. Stooping over like an ox, the minister emptied the vessel, coming up for air but once. Heavy wine drinking was another "ability" of Kamateros. He could compete with the rulers of (western?) *ethne*, "who gulped down whole casks and held the amphorae in their fingers as though they were wine cups"<sup>77</sup>.

Kekaumenos, a provincial magnate, dramatically equates a single case of drunkenness with lifelong darkness, but at the same time he advises more wine-growing on the estates<sup>78</sup>. Therefore, the production and sale of wine promised considerable profit, reflecting the higher level of consumption as well as the changed geopolitical and economic premises.

The recapture of Crete, victories on the eastern Arabic frontier and the fall of the Bulgarian empire marked the Byzantine ascendancy during the later tenth and early eleventh century and resulted in a territorial expansion. More land was now available and could be cultivated in peace. The population began to grow, agricultural productivity (as Kekaumenos had recommended) went up<sup>79</sup>. Rhetorical descriptions (*ekphraseis*) of Byzantine cities like Thessalonica and Nicaea mention vineyards in its surroundings. Evidently, they constituted an element, which evoked positive feelings in the readers<sup>80</sup>.

The power of the Byzantine state vouched for the safety of regional and international transport routes<sup>81</sup>, from which trade soon began to profit. This expanding market attracted foreign traders, especially Venetians and Genoese. A commercial network came into being, favoured by tax-reductions, which the Byzantine em-

<sup>72</sup> Typicon of the Mamas-monastery, ed. S. Eustratiades. *Hellenika* 1 (1928) 309; Typicon of the Kosmosoteira-monastery, ed. L. Petit. *Izvestija russkago archeologiceskago instituta v Konstantinopole* 13 (1908) 66. On the former ideal of *alousia* cf. H. Hunger, *Zum Badewesen in byzantinischen Klöstern*, in: *Klösterliche Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 367)*. Wien 1980, 354–8.

<sup>73</sup> Michaelis Choniatae epistulae, ed. F. Kolovou (*CFHB* 41). Berlin 2001, 191 (letter 115).

<sup>74</sup> *Op. cit.* 192.

<sup>75</sup> Niketas Choniates, *Chronike diegesis* 47 (Van Dieten).

<sup>76</sup> Eustathii Thessalonicensis Opera minora, ed. P. Wirth (*CFHB* 32). Berlin-New York 2000, 170–81, here 176. Cf. A. F. Stone, Eustathios and the Wedding Banquet for Alexios Porphyrogenetos, in: *Feast, Fast or Famine. Food and Drink in Byzantium*, ed. W. Mayer – S. Trzcionka. Brisbane 2005, 33–42, esp. 39–40 (English translation).

<sup>77</sup> Niketas Choniates, *Chronike diegesis* 113–4 (Van Dieten). Magoulias, *City of Byzantium* 64–5.

<sup>78</sup> Cecaumeno, *Raccomandazioni e consigli di un galantuomo*, a cura di M. D. Spadaro (*Hellenica* 2). Alessandria 1998, 166 (ch. 117), 170 (ch. 122).

<sup>79</sup> A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900–1200*. Cambridge 1989.

<sup>80</sup> Ioannis Caminatae De expugnatione Thessalonicae, ed. G. Böhlig (*CFHB* 4). Berlin-New York 1973, 7 (ch. 5); Theodore Metochites, *Nikaieus*, ed. K. N. Sathas in *MB* I 143.

<sup>81</sup> A. Avramea, *Land and Sea Communications, Fourth-Fifteenth Centuries*, in: *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, vol. I, ed. A. E. Laiou. Washington, D.C. 2002, 57–90; E. Kislínger, *Reisen und Verkehrswege zwischen Byzanz und dem Abendland vom neunten bis in die Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts*, in: *Byzanz und das Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. von E. Konstantinou. Köln-Weimar-Wien 1997, 231–57.

perors more or less willingly conceded to the Latin merchants<sup>82</sup>. A cheaper and expanded offer of commodities stimulated the demand and created new standards for Well-Being, both in the field of luxury items and basic needs such as beverages.

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<sup>82</sup> R. J. LILIE, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzantinischen Reich und den italienischen Kommunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und Angeloi, 1081–1204*. Amsterdam 1984; A. LAIOU, *Exchange and Trade, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries*, in: *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, vol. II, ed. A. E. LAIOU. Washington, D.C. 2002, 697–770.



DIMITRIOS KONSTANTIOS

## Introduction to Material Culture in the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens

(with plates 29–32)

Ideas and matter, moulded purposefully by the artist and endowed with aesthetic value, constitute the work of art, which is a material testimony of Art and Culture. The Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens possesses a considerable wealth of material testimonies of Byzantine Culture. Just a small sample will be displayed in its new permanent exhibition, which will be developed over an area of 6000 square metres, including 2030 selected exhibits.

The first major unit of the exhibition is entitled 'From the Ancient to the Christian World'. This focuses on an era of continuity as well as of severance and change. Familiar figures acquired a new symbolic meaning. The figure of the philosopher was now used to render Christ. The familiar figure of Zeus *kriophoros* – bearing a ram – was transformed into the Good Shepherd of the Gospel (pl. 29, fig. 1). Orpheus now symbolized Christ, whose word allures. (pl. 29, fig. 2). The figure of "Isbardias" and terracotta lamps of symbolic shape (inventory number T. 18) are some of the other notable works with analogous esoteric meaning.

As a consequence of the recognition of Christianity as official religion of the Roman Empire and its spread, ancient sanctuaries were transformed into Christian places of worship. Christians purified the pagan temples with their cult images and consecrated them as churches. Some sculptures from the conversion of the Parthenon into a church are exhibited as an independent sub-unit, in which we can see a closure panel from a fifth-century ambo or pulpit and two sections of a twelfth-century architrave.

The churches of the new religion produced their own material evidence too. The triumph of the new religion was manifest in matter. Remains of a mosaic pavement and sculptures from the Ilissos basilica (T. 39) (pl. 29, fig. 3), carvings from Early Christian basilicas, such as the marble relief with the scene of the Nativity (T. 95), a pier capital from the reign of Theodosius (T. 8), a cup (T. 2350) and metal lamps (T. 2809) merely hint at the wide range of such objects.

In the first centuries of Christianity, the continuity of the tradition of the ancient world is also obvious in secular art, as well as in the daily habits of people. A mural from a fourth-century urban house in Athens, a lovely round table from Thera and various lamps give us an inkling into domestic decoration and household furnishings. Pieces of jewellery are associated with personal adornment, crosses and small icons with private devotions, and amulets with superstition, while coins, stamps, seals and weights relate to the domain of public life.

However, for Christians of seminal importance is the belief in the life to come, the life after death, in which the souls live on in the world hereafter: 'a bright place, a verdant place, a place of leisure'. Examples of tombs, such as the double grave from Stamata in Attica, the unique 'Martyrs' Table' (pl. 29, fig. 4), grave goods such as clay vases, and funerary inscriptions comprise a rich sub-unit devoted to mortuary customs.

Within the multi-ethnic and ecumenical Byzantine Empire, the Christians of Egypt, whom the Arabs called Copts, were a singular group. An important collection in the Byzantine and Christian Museum gives a panorama of Coptic material culture from Early Christian times until the Age of Islam, with sculptures (T. 108), textiles (T. 665), ivory reliefs (T. 1634), crosses (T. 2264) and other items, in which the Hellenistic heritage is combined with Oriental influences.

Political ideology not only sets its seal on institutions but also leaves its mark on material objects. In Byzantium the role of the emperor and of the state administration was decisive.

Imprinted on the 275 gold coins spanning the fourth to the fifteenth century, in the Avgeris Collection, are the portraits of the emperors, their attributes and their relationship with the Church and with God. The medalion (T. 465), copy of the Barberini diptych, lead seals and the fourteenth-century chrysobull of Andronikos II Palaeologos are tangible evidence of imperial authority, while the folio from a purple codex of the sixth century (T. 21) (p. 30, fig. 1), the balance weights, the lead seals of state officials and the wedding crowns of the *spantharokandidatos* Romanos, give an insight into the courtly milieu and the state bureaucracy.

The period from the seventh to the end of the ninth century, is conventionally known as the 'dark age'. It was marked by upheavals and rivalries, as well as of true creativity.

The hoard buried in the seventh century on the island of Lesbos, to protect it from barbarian incursions, is doubly important. First it belies the political crisis in the seventh century, and second it bespeaks the sophistication of metalworking. Coins, jewellery and vessels in gold and silver, constitute irrefutable witnesses to the heights this art had reached in the seventh century (pl. 30, fig. 2).

The subsequent crisis of Iconoclasm inevitably affected art, as is apparent in sculptures (T. 1851). In the ninth century, sculptures such as the closure panel (T. 291), the architrave (T. 429) and the column capital (T. 217) decorated the church at Skripou, of transitional architectural type.

We shall pass now to the section devoted to the Byzantine church, and look at the works of art connected with it. This large and important body of material culture, encompassing icons, sculptures, creations in the minor arts, manuscripts and textiles, comprises an abstract unit relating to worship.

The 'Triumph of the Icons' begins with a two-sided icon of the Crucifixion from the ninth and thirteenth centuries (pl. 30, fig. 3) and continues with some of the most important examples of the art of portable icons, such as the mosaic Virgin of Tenderness (*Glykophilousa*), the thirteenth-century Virgin *Episkepsis* from Asia Minor (pl. 30, fig. 4), Saint George (T. 2726), the two-sided icon with Christ Pantocrator (T. 188), an icon of Archangel Michael (T. 2162) (pl. 31, fig. 1), the Crucifixion from the church of the *Helkomenos* at Monemvasia (T. 40) and several others. – Noteworthy are three marble icons: the tenth-century plaque with three Apostles (T. 150), the eleventh-century Virgin orans (T. 149) and the twelfth-century Virgin and Child (T. 147).

The entrance to the Byzantine church is enhanced by doorframes and lintels, such as T. 348, which dates from the tenth century. A marble sarcophagus of the tenth-eleventh century (T. 1784) reminds us of its existence at the entrance to the nave, while the form of windows with mullions and pier capitals, of an eleventh-century marble templon-screen with architraves (T. 197) and of eleventh-century closure panels such as the exquisite pieces T. 164 and T. 159, are evoked.

Two units negotiate the mural decoration of the Byzantine church. In the first unit, thirteenth-century wall-paintings from Oropos in Attica (T. 2227), from Naxos, Kythera and Tanagra are presented, while in the second one, the entire decoration of a church, with three successive layers of wall-paintings (ninth, eleventh and thirteenth centuries) is displayed.

The eleventh-century manuscript Lectionary (T. 145), an epitachelion of the fourteenth to fifteenth century (T. 686) (pl. 31, fig. 2), the fourteenth-century epigonatia or genuals (T. 714) and the tenth-century cross (T. 248) exemplify the crafts of writing, textiles and metalworking associated with the Byzantine church.

The unit entitled 'Attica, a Byzantine province' includes Byzantine wall-paintings and sculptures. These display peculiarities of the local school, undoubtedly influenced by the region's illustrious Classical past. The architectural members and ornaments are distinguished by symmetry and the sense of measure, reflecting memories from the Classical tradition, as is apparent in sculptures from the church of Saint John *Mangoutis* (T. 293) and closure panels from *Kapnikarea* (T. 1674), the Virgin *Koulourdou* (T. 158), the *Moni Petraki* (T. 166) and the dependency (*metochion*) of the Holy Sepulchre (T. 162). On the contrary, the wall-paintings from the church in the *Penteli* Cave (T. 2660) and Saint Nikolaos at Kalamos (T. 2662), bear witness to the artistic achievements of a provincial workshop of Byzantine painters.

The virtual visit now brings us to a fascinating unit dealing with material culture. It introduces the visitor to diverse aspects of the daily life of people in the Byzantine Age.

Through the pottery workshops of the Byzantine realm, the common language of decoration and the various techniques can be seen, such as the thirteenth-century bowl (T. 168) from a Thessalonica workshop and the plate (T. 2457) from a Corinth workshop. A group of earthenware vases for domestic use – for cooking, for eating and for decorating the house – includes a deep bowl or basin (T. 2713), a large ‘sauce-boat’ (*saltsarion*) and a cooking pot, all three dating from the twelfth-century (pl. 31, fig. 3).

Personal adornment as an indicator of social status is vividly illustrated by the selection of jewellery and toiletry utensils, such as the pair of tenth-century earrings (T. 2265) and the tenth-century comb (T. 2352). Characteristic objects of private devotion in this unit are the small fourteenth-century icon of the Prophet Daniel (T. 1566), the small twelfth-century icon (T. 475), cross-reliquaries such as T. 243, and so on.

Impressive too, are the sculptures from secular architectural decoration, such as the reliefs with mythological representations: an eleventh-century plaque with a Centaur (T. 178) and a tenth-century one with Heracles (T. 175).

The final centuries of Byzantium were a time of acute political crisis. In 1204 Constantinople was captured by the Franks and the Latins, and although it was regained by the Byzantines in 1261 a large portion of the Empire remained under Frankish and Venetian rule.

The influence of Byzantine art in the West, as well as of Western art in Byzantium was intense, as is apparent from a group of sculptures, such as the thirteenth-century Nativity (T. 251) and the fourteenth-century arch from an arcosolium (T. 232).

These same reciprocal influences can be detected in the wall-painting of the Virgin of the Catalans, from the fifteenth-century church of Prophet Elijah of Athens, in portable icons, and in the fourteenth-century Crusader panoply (T. 1302) (pl. 31, fig. 4). In the same period, the art of the Palaeologan dynasty in the Byzantine State is expressed in the outstanding fourteenth- and fifteenth-century icons we have already heard about, as well as in the earliest icon illustrating the hymn “In Thee Rejoiceth” (T. 134) and the superb fourteenth-century Saint George (T. 198).

In 1453 the Queen of Cities – that is Constantinople – fell. The Ottoman conquest brought an end to the political presence of Byzantium. But the material culture of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries bears eloquent witness to the continuity of Byzantine art, which remained very much alive over this long period. Hellenism was now under foreign rule. Nevertheless, it created works such as the unique fifteenth-century wall-painting of the Ascension, from the island of Lefkada (Santa Maura) (pl. 32, fig. 1). The painter Angelos Akotantos painted the Virgin *Kardiotissa* in the fifteenth century, Michael Damaskenos Saint Anthony in the sixteenth century, Emmanuel Tzanes the Virgin Enthroned in 1664, and Ilias Moskos the Annunciation in 1675 (T. 1519).

The flourishing monasteries and workshops, in Constantinople, Philippopolis, Ioannina and elsewhere, were producing wonderful works in metal, such as the Gospelbook covers and the Communion chalice (T. 37a) dated 1632 (pl. 32, fig. 2), or exquisitely embroidered vestments such as the sakkos (T. 753) (pl. 32, fig. 3) and the epigonation (T. 707) by the embroideress Despoineta, who practised her art in the seventeenth century. Wood-carving reached such a peak that the craftsmen from Metsovo were called ‘*saitanades*’, which means literally devils, presumably because of their demonic skills.

There was a considerable output of works by Greeks in the expatriate communities all over Europe, particularly printed books and metalwork. In the eighteenth century Catherine the Great of Russia presented precious gifts from the imperial workshops of Moscow to the important Greek community of Leghorn (Livorno) in Italy. Paintings such as the nineteenth-century ‘Allegory of Love’, the antimensium T. 1124 of 1803, and above all the delightful island fanlights (*phengites*), epitomize the freshness and charm of folk art. (pl. 32, fig. 4).

In the Modern Greek State, after 1830, religious works continued to be produced in the Byzantine tradition, alongside the creations of German and Greek Nazarene painters, such as Thiersch and Hadjiyannopoulos. After the Greek defeat in Asia Minor in 1922, the refugees brought to their new homeland precious testimonies of the material culture of the Greek communities there, such as the superb thirteenth-century icon of the Virgin, the eighteenth-century epitachelion (T. 1505) and the lamp dated 1787 (T. 1440).

Through two thousand and more items of material culture exhibited in the new Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens we endeavour not only to preserve but also to present to the public a civilization underpinned by the Greek language and the Greek sense of measure, and imbued with influences from East and West. We endeavour to make those who visit the Museum participants in a civilization that is an integral part of our common 'European past, and – why not? – of a common European future.

ANNA MUTHESIUS

## Textiles and Dress in Byzantium

Textiles and dress in Byzantium reflect much about Byzantine civilisation. They act as a rich medium for the exploration of power systems in relation to social structures across the elite, as well as the ‘middling’ craft and professions-based sectors of Byzantine society. In Byzantium, signifying systems were constructed around cloth types and tailored cuts, and these systems assumed the role of hierarchical social signifiers. At the same time, the development of elaborate ceremonial and/or ritual display of the most precious of these fabrics, costumes, ecclesiastical furnishings and vestments<sup>1</sup>, offered a public arena for the demarcation of boundaries between church and state, and between state and society in Byzantium. On a more private and personal level, textiles and dress served as symbols of both material and of spiritual well-being. ‘Outward appearance’ in relation to private and to public identity, and within open and closed spaces, definitely mattered in Byzantium. The purpose of this paper is to ask why. The research method applied is that of inter-disciplinary Byzantine textile history, and this is characterised by the combination of technical data drawn from the surviving textiles, with evidence gathered from documentary sources, pictorial as well as written<sup>2</sup>.

### TEXTILES AND DRESS AS A SIGNIFYING SYSTEM

Between the fourth and the tenth centuries, elaborate associations of power, prestige, and hierarchy were built up around the use of precious silks by the Imperial house<sup>3</sup>. Imperial silk also became a tool for putting administrative, civil, military and ecclesiastical systems into order. Highly developed forms of suitably tailored court attire, and correspondingly splendid tailored uniforms of silks, linen, cotton, and wool distinguished members of the Imperial court, the civil service, the military service, and the professional hierarchy<sup>4</sup>. These robes acted as a badge of office, and at the highest level, with the bestowal of silk Imperial robes of office, it is reasonable to suggest, went the transfer of power and authority<sup>5</sup>. John Chrysostom, Justinian (CJC), Sophronios of Jerusalem, and Symeon Metaphrastes variously describe the use of uniforms, and they indicated that uniforms served to distinguish the ordinary citizen from the military and the professional sectors of society<sup>6</sup>. In court, the judges wore a special uniform, and this Ibn Battuta likened to a thick, black wool-

<sup>1</sup> For surviving silks, see A. MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving, AD 400 to AD 1200*. Vienna 1997.

<sup>2</sup> An explanation of this method is found in A. MUTHESIUS, *Crossing Traditional Boundaries: Grub to Glamour in Byzantine Silk Weaving*. *BMGS* 15 (1991) 326–64 (Reprint in *EADEM*, *Studies in Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving*. London 1995, 173–200).

<sup>3</sup> For court ceremonial in general, see *Byzantine Court Culture*, ed. H. MAGUIRE. Washington 1997, section on Imperial Costumes and Cult objects, in particular, E. PILTZ, *Middle Byzantine Court Costume* (39–51). Earlier, see P. CANARD, *Le Cérémonial Fatimite et le Cérémonial Byzantine*. *Byz* 21 (1951) 355–420. See three papers by the present author: *Silk in Byzantium*. Inaugural Professorial lecture, Surrey Institute of Art and Design, University College, March 1997; *The Cult of Imperial and Ecclesiastical Silks in Byzantium*. *Textile History* 32/1 (2001) 36–47 and *Courtly and aristocratic patronage and the uses of silk in Byzantium*. Paper read at University of Nicosia, January 1997 (First publication of papers one and three, and reprint of the second in *EADEM*, *Studies in Silk in Byzantium*. London 2004, chapters I, II and V, respectively).

<sup>4</sup> Ph. KOUKOULES, *Byzantinon Bios kai Politismos*, II/2. Athens 1949, 5–59.

<sup>5</sup> For the concept of a ‘robe of honour’ consider the woollen mantle presented by John Kantakuzenos, see Nikephoros Gregoras, *Historia rhomaïke* XII 8 (II 600 SCHOPEN).

<sup>6</sup> John Chrysostomos, *De Lazaro* Concio VI. *PG* 48, 1035; Sophronius of Jerusalem, *Narratio miraculorum ss. Cyri et Johannis* I 13 (246 FERNANDEZ MARCOS or *PG* 87/3, 3428); Dig. 12.39; Symeon Metaphrastes, *Vita S. Acacii Cappadocis*. *PG* 115, 236.



len monastic habit<sup>7</sup>. The wills of provincial magnates, such as Gregory Pakurianos<sup>8</sup> and Michael Attaliates<sup>9</sup>, indicate that silk military tunics, originally presented as Imperial gifts, might later be recycled for use as altar cloths in their private religious foundations.

The Kletorologion of Philotheos dated 899<sup>10</sup>, the tenth century compilation known as the Book of Ceremonies of Constantine VII<sup>11</sup>, and the fourteenth century Treatise of Pseudo-Kodinos<sup>12</sup>, describe a marvellously rich and varied selection of court costumes. According to the Book of Ceremonies, the Emperors wore the *chlamys* or mantle, which was adorned with a panel called *tablion*, over different types of tunic, the *skaramangion* and *sagion*<sup>13</sup>. The *loros* or long heavy scarf was wound across the body and hung down in front as an Imperial insignium<sup>14</sup>. Other garments mentioned include the *divitsion*<sup>15</sup>, *tzitzakion*<sup>16</sup>, and *kolobion*<sup>17</sup>, all tunics. The *tzitzakion* was based upon ancient Khazar costume from the time of the Emperor Constantine V, who had married a Khazar princess<sup>18</sup>. The simplest non-parade costume was worn as a sign of humility on Easter Thursday<sup>19</sup>. The significant thing about the court costumes is the symbolic pairing and tripling of different items, in a strictly regulated order and colour coding, to serve for key feasts, liturgical celebrations, and Imperial rituals. The golden *chlamys* was used for the funeral of an Emperor<sup>20</sup>, whereas the scarlet *chlamys* was worn for the acclamation of the demes<sup>21</sup>. Purple marks the feasts of the Ascension, of Orthodoxy, and of the Presentation and the Dormition, the coronation and the birthday of the Emperor<sup>22</sup>. Also there was use of the golden *loros* by 'twelve dignitaries' during Easter<sup>23</sup>. The very rich purple *chlamys* of Tyre was worn by the *kouropalates* at his promotion, and the *chlamys* made of silk of purple of Tyre, with green yellow medallions, was worn by senior dignitaries at Christmas<sup>24</sup>. In Pseudo-Kodinos, the significance of colour is also clear with each rank and office assigned its own particular colour code<sup>25</sup>. Many other costumes are mentioned including the linen *sabanion* tunic of the protospatharian eunuchs<sup>26</sup>. The eparch on the occasion of his promo-

<sup>7</sup> For special court uniforms, see John Chrystomos, In Acta apostolorum homilia XVI. PG 60, 127. For the report of Ibn Battuta, see The Travels of Ibn Battuta 1325–1354, ed. H. A. GIBB, I–II. Cambridge 1962, II 506 and 514, for silk, linen and wool robes, cf. KOUKOULES, *op. cit.* 14.

<sup>8</sup> For Gregory Pakourianos, see P. GAUTIER, Le typikon du Sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos. REB 42 (1984) 5–145; P. LEMERLE, Cinq études sur le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle byzantin. Paris 1977, 115–91. A. CHANDIZÉ, Le grand domestique de l'occident, Gregorii Bakurianis-dzé et le monastère géorgien fondé par lui en Bulgarie. Bedi Kartlisa 28 (1971) 133–66.

<sup>9</sup> For Michael Attaliates, see P. GAUTIER, La Diataxis de Michel Attaliat. REB 39 (1981) 5–143; LEMERLE, Cinq études 65–112.

<sup>10</sup> Kletorologion of Philotheos, ed. N. OIKONOMIDES, Les listes de préséance byzantines du IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles. Paris 1972, 165–235.

<sup>11</sup> De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae, ed. J. J. REISKE, I–II. Bonn 1829–1830. Le Livre des cérémonies, ed. A. VOGT. Paris 1935–1940. ODB I 595–7.

<sup>12</sup> Traité des offices, ed. J. VERPEAUX. Paris 1966.

<sup>13</sup> De Cerimoniis I 46 and I 69 (I 175, II 84 VOGT). For Imperial vestiture, consult J. EBERSOLT, Les vêtements impériaux dans le cérémonial, in: Mélanges d'Histoire et d'Archéologie Byzantines. Paris 1917, 50–69. ODB I 538–40. See also tunic (ODB III 2127–8), skaramangion (ODB III 1908–9), and kabbadion (ODB II 1088). Further see PILTZ, Court Costume (note 3) and EADEM, Le costume officiel des dignitaires byzantins à l'époque Paléologue (Acta universitatis upsaliensis, n.s. 26). Uppsala 1994.

<sup>14</sup> On the *loros*, see E. PILTZ in RbK III 428–44, and K. WESSEL, *ibidem* 480–3. Also, E. CONDURACHI, Sur l'origine et l'évolution du *loros* impérial. Arta si arkeologia 11–12 (1935–1936) 37–45. Cf. ODB II 1251–2.

<sup>15</sup> On this garment, see ODB I 639.

<sup>16</sup> For the *tzitzakion*, see PILTZ, Court Costume 42.

<sup>17</sup> For the *kolobion*, see PILTZ, Court Costume 43.

<sup>18</sup> De Cerimoniis I 1 (I 22 REISKE, cf. I 17 VOGT).

<sup>19</sup> De Cerimoniis I 178 (I 166 VOGT).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem* I 60 (II 84 VOGT).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem* I 53 (II 36 VOGT).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem* I 38 (Coronation, II 1 VOGT); I 37 (Sunday of Orthodoxy, I 145 VOGT); I 46 (Presentation and Ascension, I 178, 176 VOGT).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem* I 24 (I 18 VOGT).

<sup>24</sup> *Ibidem* I 32 (I 119 VOGT).

<sup>25</sup> See A. GRABAR, Pseudo Codinos et les cérémonies de la Cour byzantine au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, in: Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues. Venice 1971, 193–221. Cf. J. VERPEAUX, Hiérarchie et préséances sous les Paléologues. TM 1 (1965) 421–37. With regard to colour terminology and symbolism, see the paper of B. Popovic in the present publication.

<sup>26</sup> De Cerimoniis I 58 (II 61 VOGT).

tion wore the *kamision*, *pelonion*, and the *loros*<sup>27</sup>. The *kamision* was also worn at the time of his promotion, so that this may have been a particular sign of his office<sup>28</sup>.

Only the detailed listing of all the costume types and colours, and the occasions on which they were worn, will provide a full picture of the Imperial colour codes in operation. In general brightness rather than colour contrast seems to be emphasised in Byzantine sources<sup>29</sup>. In relation to extant silks, one observes a move to monochrome and less ostentatious colour contrasts in the tenth to eleventh centuries, away from the bold, strong colour juxtapositions of the eighth to ninth centuries<sup>30</sup>. The use of monochrome off-whites and pale yellows, olive greens, and deep blue purples may have been influenced by the use of monochrome colour codes, white and black respectively, in the Fatimid and the Abbasid courts<sup>31</sup>.

Another documentary source which details tailored Imperial silks is the Book of the Eparch<sup>32</sup>, and there, as well as in the Baggage Train account attached to the Book of Ceremonies<sup>33</sup>, much of the textile and tailoring terminology proves to have no parallels in the surviving Byzantine sources. Scholars have guessed the meaning of terms with only the most tenuous of links. Time does not allow for discussion of individual terms such as *prasinodiblatta megaloxela*<sup>34</sup> but what must be noted is the undoubtedly complex language of Byzantine textile production.

Three practical categories of names may be applied to cloths: that is technical, trade, and brand names, and these exist quite apart from literary names, and also liturgically influenced textile terms<sup>35</sup>. Literary scholars and historians have vastly simplified the problem in their attempts to provide interpretations of Byzantine textile terminology. The technical and trade names may or may not overlap and the brand names may or may not reflect the provenance or the quality. The technical names generally reflect the ratio of the warp to weft threads, and the trade names may refer to both weaving type and provenance when a particular weave has been taken over by a specific geographical location. These textile languages bear no relationship to the languages of common usage, and it is of no use searching for parallels in official documents or in everyday sources.

The terminology used in relation to Italian silk textiles, has been analysed by Donald King, former Keeper of Textiles of the Victoria and Albert Museum<sup>36</sup>. Sophie Desrosiers has taken the term 'draps d'areste' originally surveyed by King, and she has gathered several hundred extant examples<sup>37</sup>. Her studies have dem-

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem* I 61 (II 70 VOGT). The *kamision* was also worn by the spatharokubikoularioi (I 10) (I 73 VOGT) and by officials of the Imperial bedchamber (I 26 and I 31) (I 92 and I 116 VOGT).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem* I 53 (II 70 VOGT).

<sup>29</sup> L. JAMES, *Light and Colour in Byzantine Art*. Oxford 1996.

<sup>30</sup> MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, chapter VII (polychrome silks, 65–79) and chapter IX (monochrome silks, 85–93).

<sup>31</sup> See CANARD, *Cérémonial Fatémite*. On Abbasid court attire, see M. M. AHSAN, *Social Life under the Abbasids*. 786–902 A.D. London 1979, chapter 2 (Costume, 29–75).

<sup>32</sup> J. KODER, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen* (CFHB 33). Wien 1991.

<sup>33</sup> J. F. HALDON, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*. Three treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions (CFHB 28). Wien 1990.

<sup>34</sup> Eparchenbuch 8.1. (102 KODER).

<sup>35</sup> On technical names, see MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving* 151–7 with diagrams on Plate 1. For trade (commercial) names in later Byzantine sources, consider the use of the Italian *camucas*. On this and other Italian terms, see D. KING, *Silk weaves of Lucca in 1376*, in: *Opera Textilia variorum temporum* to honour Agnes Geijer on her ninetieth birthday 26 October 1988, ed. I. ESTHAM – M. NOCKART. Stockholm 1988, 67–77. See also L. MONNAS, *Textiles for the coronation of Edward III*. *Textile History* 32/1 (2001) 2–35, and on *camacas* (English spelling) in particular, 7–9. Some Latin textile trade names have been identified with specific techniques from the evidence of surviving silks. See D. KING, *Two Medieval Textile Terms 'draps d'ache', 'draps de l'arrest'*, for example. *CIETA Bulletin* 27 (1968) 26–9. Technical and commercial names have to be distinguished from each other. See E. HARDOUIN-FUGIER – B. BERTHOD – M. CHAVENT-FUSARO, *Les Étoffes*. Dictionnaire historique. Paris 1994, 16–9. Branding occurred in connection with prestige attached to special place of manufacture. Consider the seal of the Eparch: Eparchenbuch 8.1 (102 KODER). – In the Islamic world, Spanish silks were inscribed, 'Made in Baghdad', probably for commercial profit, see A. MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving* 88–9 and note 33. Cf. H. E. ELSBERG – R. GUEST, *Another silk weave at Baghdad*. *Burlington Magazine* 64 (1934) 270–2, esp. 271; D. SHEPHERD, *The Hispano-Islamic Silks*. Textiles in the Cooper Union Collection. *Chronicle of the Museum for the art of decoration of the Cooper Union* 10 (1943) 355–440; F. E. DAY, *The inscription of the Boston Baghdad silk, a note on epigraphy*. *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954) 191–4.

<sup>36</sup> See KING, Lucca.

<sup>37</sup> S. DESROSIERS, *Cloth of Aresta*, in: *Ancient and medieval textile history in honour of Donald King* (= *Textile History* 20, 1989). Leeds 2001, 135–49. More recently by the same author, see *Draps d'areste*. Extension de la classification, comparaisons et lieux de fabrication. *Techniques and Culture* 34 (1999) 89–119.

onstrated that the same terminology may cover many variations on a common technical theme, in this case a broken and/or chevron, or a plain twill. She has also indicated that these textiles, originally assigned only to Spain in the thirteenth century, were probably also woven in France<sup>38</sup>. This illustrates only some of the possible pitfalls facing Byzantine documentary historians dealing with the translation of textile terminology. Only the painstaking and first-hand examination of all surviving materials and the thorough knowledge of weaving techniques, in conjunction with analysis of documented textile terms, can serve as adequate method for translation of textile terms<sup>39</sup>.

Less of a problem are the more general terms used for clothing, some of which remain part of the modern Greek language. These include *roucha*, *phoresia*, *stole*, *allage* and *allaximo*<sup>40</sup>. Categories of clothing are also fairly well understood. Niketas Choniates, for example, spoke of *roucha kala*<sup>41</sup>.

## THE VERTICAL AND THE HORIZONTAL AXIS IN DRESS AND CLOTHING

The lengthy discussion of sumptuous court costume, together with the presentation of the pictorial evidence from Imperial manuscripts, suggests the tremendous visual impact that such sumptuous display must have had in Byzantium. The public religious ceremonies between churches of the Capital, as well as victory parades and other celebrations, brought this finery into open view<sup>42</sup>. It was essential that the contrast between the clothing of the court, and that of the ordinary, the trade/craft based, and the professionally orientated citizen, should appear extreme. This was the means by which to maintain order and to create a social balance between the élite, and the 'middling' sectors of Byzantine society. In a society where authority was expressed vertically, from the court downwards, the broad horizontal spectrum of society, might well have been rendered speechless by ostentatious display<sup>43</sup>. It was also significant that the use of sumptuous and precious cloths became usual in ecclesiastical settings. Many of the most precious furnishings and vestments, designed to reflect the Glory of God, were the gifts of the Emperors themselves<sup>44</sup>.

Documentary sources, and surviving archaeological textiles from Byzantine period sites in Syria and Palestine, indicate the types of cloths and costumes worn by the ordinary citizens of Byzantium<sup>45</sup>. Linens, woolens, cottons, and mixed fabrics (linen and cotton, or silk or wool mixtures), and animal hair fabrics (goat, camel and rabbit), are both described and survive<sup>46</sup>. Asterios of Amasia reported that linens were imported from Bulgaria, Egypt and the region of the Pontos. He also recorded silk and cotton from Caesarea. According to him, 'God gave us linen for greater pleasure in the summer'<sup>47</sup>. Fine silk and linen textiles, are described by Gregory the Theologian<sup>48</sup> and the term *aerina hyphasmata* is used by him. The tenth century Book of the

<sup>38</sup> See brocade, twill, broken twill, chevron twill, tabby, damask, tapestry, velvet, satin etc. in: Centre International d'Études des Textiles Anciens. Lyon 1964, vocabulary.

<sup>39</sup> There is a tendency for Byzantine historians to ignore technical factors. D. JACOBY, Silk in Western Byzantium. *BZ* 84/85 (1991/1992) 452–500, confuses brocading and embroidery, and treats dye and weave terminology in a superficial way, with a total absence of reference to (or knowledge of) surviving silks. This may lead to conclusions which do not concur with what survives.

<sup>40</sup> KOUKOULES, *Byzantinon Bios* II/2, 20 and note 6; 21 and notes 2, 3, 5, 11–13.

<sup>41</sup> Niketas Choniates, *Chronike diegesis* 577 (VAN DIETEN).

<sup>42</sup> See I. KALAVREZOU, Helping Hands for the Empire: Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court, in: *Byzantine Court Culture* (as note 3) 53–80, with reference to bibliography dealing with specific feasts in the footnotes. See also note 11 above.

<sup>43</sup> For an account of one type of military procession, on which occasion both victorious and vanquished received special uniforms, see A. A. VASILIEV, Harun Ibn Yahya and his description of Constantinople. *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (1932) 149–63.

<sup>44</sup> For instance, the altar cloth at Hagia Sophia, a gift of Emperor Justinian, upon which not only Christ's miracles but also the Emperor's good deeds were shown, see Paulus Silentarius, *Ekphrasis tou naou tes Hagias Sophias*, in P. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius. Kunstbeschreibungen justinianischer Zeit*. Leipzig-Berlin 1912 (Reprint Hildesheim–New York 1969) 755, cited by C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453. Sources and Documents*. New Jersey 1972, 88–9.

<sup>45</sup> See special issue on mediæval textiles, *Textile History* 32/1 (2001), especially the articles by A. BAGINSKI, Later Islamic and Medieval Textiles from Excavation of the Israeli Antiquities Authority (81–92) and O. SHAMIR, Byzantine and Early Islamic Textiles excavated in Israel (93–105). For textiles excavated in Syria, see A. SCHMIDT-COLINET – A. STAUFFER – K. AL-AS 'Ad, *Die Textilien aus Palmyra*. Mainz 2000.

<sup>46</sup> KOUKOULES, *Byzantinon Bios* II/2, 22 and notes 8 and 9.

<sup>47</sup> Asterios of Amaseia, *Homilia* I 2 (8 DATEMA). Source discussed by KOUKOULES, *Byzantinon Bios* II/2, 22, note 12.

<sup>48</sup> Gregory the Theologian, *Oratio* VIII 799 (264–5 CALVET-SEBASTI = SC 405).

Eparch includes regulations for linen manufacture, and there a transparent form of linen is noted as being manufactured by the private linen guild of Constantinople<sup>49</sup>. The textile guilds deal with various stages of the processing of raw silk, and of the weaving, dyeing, tailoring and retailing of Constantinopolitan silks, and manufacture of linen<sup>50</sup>. There are also guilds of retailers of non-Byzantine, and of imported (Syrian and Cilian) tailored garments in tenth century Constantinople<sup>51</sup>.

The lustre of what is presumably bombyx mori domesticated silk is given the term *lampsin metaxes*. In connection with the shine of fine goat's hair<sup>52</sup>, wild as well as cultivated silk is known. Wild silk cloth is described by Constantine VII as *imatia koukoularika*<sup>53</sup>. Prodromos mentions linens and silks, and linens with gold thread, *linochrysa*, are mentioned by Theophanes<sup>54</sup>. Eustathios of Thessalonica reveals cloths, which were characterised by their use of gold and silver threads (*argyra kai chrysa nemata*)<sup>55</sup>. Cloths using metal wires were given the name *syrmanteina* or *syrmakezika*<sup>56</sup>. Some were entirely of gold (*holou chryshyphanta*) woven cloths, others were called *diachrysa* or *chrysopaston*, which seem to me to be technical terms, and not necessarily merely designations for part gold cloths as has been suggested<sup>57</sup>. The use of gold threads takes different forms according to the types of threads used, and whether or not gold wire or gold foil twisted upon a silk or linen core is employed<sup>58</sup>. The gold may also be overside (or surface) couched embroidery, or it may be woven with a brocading weft<sup>59</sup>. Once again translators of textile terminology need to refer closely to the evidence of the surviving gold textiles.

Archaeological textiles reveal the range and qualities of linen, woollen, silk, cotton, and animal hair fabrics available to Byzantine society in the early period<sup>60</sup>. Later sources, collected together by Matschke for Thessalonica in the fourteenth century<sup>61</sup>, indicate the continued availability of this kind of fabric alongside the silks, the provincial manufacture of which in the Peloponnese had particularly flourished from the twelfth century onwards. Twelfth century and later Venetian trade documentation in the archives of the Greek Institute in Venice, only partly read, also promises to increase our knowledge of what textiles Byzantium was producing at the lower end of the textile market, as well as at its upper end<sup>62</sup>. Certainly textile manufacture did not

<sup>49</sup> Eparchenbuch 6.7, 9.1 (98. 106 KODER).

<sup>50</sup> Eparchenbuch, chapters 4–9 (90–110 KODER) (cf. 13.1 in regard to linen, 118 KODER). On the organisation of the silk industry, see A. MUTHESIUS, From seed to samite: aspects of Byzantine Silk Production. *Textile History* 20/2 (1989) 135–49 and EADEM, The Byzantine Silk Industry: Lopez and beyond. *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993) 1–67.

<sup>51</sup> Eparchenbuch 5.5.1 (94. 95 KODER).

<sup>52</sup> For goat hair or goat hair mixed with silk, see KOUKOULES, Byzantinon Bios II/2, 24 and note 4 for *lampsin metaxes*.

<sup>53</sup> De Cerimoniis II 45 (678 REISKE or J. HALDON in *TM* 13, 2000, 234–5). Cf. D. JACOBY in *DOP* 58 (2004) 208.

<sup>54</sup> Theophanes, Chronographia 244 (DE BOOR). The present author has under publication the silk treasures of St John, Patmos and St Catherine, Sinai, which contain gold couched embroideries.

<sup>55</sup> Discussed by KOUKOULES, Byzantinon Bios II/ 2, 26; cf. J. EBERSOLT, Les arts somptuaires. Paris 1923, 118.

<sup>56</sup> KOUKOULES, Byzantinon Bios II/2, 26, with discussion of references to gold and gold workers.

<sup>57</sup> KOUKOULES, *op. et. loc. cit.* speaks of gold brocading, but in fact, we know little about this from surviving examples. Most extant Byzantine gold work is overside couched embroidery, see notes 58 and 59.

<sup>58</sup> Surviving Byzantine overside couched embroidery, using gold thread, usually employs a silver gilt strip wound upon a twisted silk core. Fewer examples exist of the use of pure silver gilt or of pure gold wire. However, these two techniques do seem to stem from the Byzantine period. They are widely imitated in Post-Byzantine embroidery. Italian brocaded silks use either a silk or a linen core, around which a silver gilt membrane is twisted. Islamic and Near Eastern silks are brocaded either using this technique or with the use of gilt leather strips. Spanish and Near Eastern mediaeval silks appear to favour the latter technique, whilst most Eastern Mediterranean workshops elsewhere do not. Sicilian silks sometimes use both of these techniques, thus reflecting their Islamic as well as their Byzantine inheritance. Leather, either gold couched or gold brocaded, is not characteristic on Byzantine textiles.

<sup>59</sup> For couching, see A. CHATZIMICHALI, Τα χρυσόκλαβαρικά – συρμαντέινα – συρμακέσικα κεντήματα, in: Mélanges O. et M. Merlier, II. Athens 1956, 447–98. For brocading, see CIETA Vocabulary 1964, under brocade.

<sup>60</sup> See references in note 45 above.

<sup>61</sup> K.-P. MATSCHKE, Tuchproduktion und Tuchproduzenten in Thessalonike und in anderen Städten und Regionen des späten Byzanz. *Byzantiaka* 9 (1989) 47–87.

<sup>62</sup> JACOBY, Silk in Western Byzantium (as note 39), emphasises the rise of provincial silk manufacture. He makes assumptions on scant documentary evidence in some cases, which in his later articles he presents as fact. For example, the assumption that red silks were widely woven on Andros requires further documentary proof. He promises further documentary-based conclusions using source materials held in the archives of the Hellenic Institute in Venice. His works so far are collected in his Trade Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean. Aldershot 1997, and his Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean. Aldershot 2001. In the latter he promises a study on the silk industry of Latin Constantinople (XI 18, note 74). Whilst



cease with the Latin conquest of Constantinople between 1204–1261: operations were simply taken to Nicaea and elsewhere<sup>63</sup>. Finishing of imported cloths in Constantinople, by Italian textile workers, was recorded in the fourteenth century<sup>64</sup>. Several large, surviving, ecclesiastical gold embroideries datable from the end of the thirteenth to the early fourteenth century onwards, suggest that an Imperial embroidery workshop was operating<sup>65</sup>.

### PROPRIETY OF DRESS

John Chrysostom saw ordinary simple wool as the best cloth. Silk for women he abhorred, but he did think that dress should indicate the difference between freeman and slave, and between servant and master<sup>66</sup>. Basil the Great spoke of a Christian attitude towards dress that transcended the material world. Christian being in Christ allowed for the wretched physical human body to be transformed into the spiritual Christian soul<sup>67</sup>. The Koran, on a human level, advocated a sense of modesty and propriety in regard to dress for women<sup>68</sup>. Dress should be appropriate to status, and reflective of spiritual rather than material well-being<sup>69</sup>.

Fallen nobles were advised to dress not in the costumes of excessive fabric, which formerly reflected their rich status, but in the clothes expressive of their disrepute and of their remorse<sup>70</sup>. It was also possible for discredited members of the elite to hide more successfully if they did not seek to treat their dress as a form of cultural capital. On the other hand, in order to enhance their own status, rich masters might wish to dress their servants in silk and gold uniforms, and the servant lover of the master might enjoy the use of silks and gold belts<sup>71</sup>. Certainly the poorest in Byzantine society wore rags; and those people, little better off than the destitute possessing only the clothes on their backs, took to the practice of wearing old clothes turned inside out<sup>72</sup>.

Promiscuity through revealing costume is also documented. Michael Psellos mentions a place of refuge for harlots established under Michael IV, where sinful women wishing to enter had to discard fine clothing for the habit of nuns<sup>73</sup>. One source complains of the women who dress so that the whole of their bodies are revealed *hoste ten holen tou somatos diathesin estin phaneran*<sup>74</sup>: men, too, wore this kind of shockingly transparent cloth. Metaphors of dress were sometimes applied, so for instance stripes denoting debauchery

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having first condemned the idea put by others, he now appears to agree that the Jewish contribution to the Byzantine silk industry was considerable, see D. JACOBY, *The Jews and the Silk Industry of Constantinople*, in: *idem*, *Byzantium, Latin Romania*, chapter XI, 1–20.

<sup>63</sup> Theodore Metochites, Nikaeus, ed. K. SATHAS in *MB* I 152, transl. C. FOSS, *Nicaea. A Byzantine Capital and its Praises*. Brooklyn 1996, 190–2 (chapter 18, 12–17). It is beyond the scope of this paper to enter the discussion on the extent of textile production in Nicaea, a topic, which D. Jacoby has promised to cover in a forthcoming publication (cf. his *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean*. Aldershot 2001, X 72, note 115 and XI 19, note 75).

<sup>64</sup> MATSCHKE, *Tuchproduktion* 61–6.

<sup>65</sup> Textiles to be considered include the Vatican dalmatic, the Anastasis epigonation of the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens; the Chilandar epitaphios, the Thessalonica epitaphios; and vestments at the monasteries of St John, Patmos and at St Catherine's, Sinai.

<sup>66</sup> John Chrysostomos, *In epistulam ad Hebraeos homilia* 12/28. *PG* 63, 200.

<sup>67</sup> Basil the Great, *De spiritu Sancto* XXVIII 69 (492–6 PRUCHE).

<sup>68</sup> For the Koran on dress, refer to, *The Koran with parallel Arabic Text*, transl. N. J. DAWOOD. London 2000, 153, 352, 425.

<sup>69</sup> Basil the Great, *Epist.* 45 (I 113–4 COURTONNE).

<sup>70</sup> For clothes reflective of penance, see KOUKOULES, *Byzantinon Bios* II/2, 11, with several specific cases cited and documented in notes 3–5.

<sup>71</sup> Specific examples and sources in KOUKOULES, *Byzantinon Bios* II/2, 12 and notes 10 and 11. Cf. Nikolaos Kabasilas, *Liturgiae Expositio*. *PG* 150, 372.

<sup>72</sup> E. KURTZ, *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*. Leipzig 1903, 63 (Nr. 99). Cf. Asterios of Amaseia, *Homilia* III 13 (36 DATEMA).

<sup>73</sup> Michael Psellos, *Chronographia* IV 36 (I 158–60 IMPELLIZZERI).

<sup>74</sup> Clemens of Alexandria, *Paidagogos* 2, 10, 107 (221 STÄHLIN).



were imposed on prostitutes<sup>75</sup>. In the early period, actresses were prevented from wearing silks by Imperial decree; and later in the twelfth century, silk was still considered inappropriate for prostitutes<sup>76</sup>.

Cloth types, as well as the use of gold borders and gold belts as insignia of status, real or imagined, unquestionably did occupy the mind of the Byzantine citizen. These types of dress seem to be clearly reflected in Byzantine manuscripts. Indeed, the degree of accuracy of the depiction of cloth is perhaps quite astonishing<sup>77</sup>. The nature of 'working' clothing can be well appreciated in the eleventh century Agricultural treatise, the Pseudo-Oppian (Marcianus gr. Z 479). Here the artisan, shown wearing a long tunic, carves an ivory horn (Diagram, a)<sup>78</sup>. The agricultural workers wear short tunics, and the two forms of tunic both hark back to the classical tradition of loose clothing.

Excavated tunics from Syria and Egypt survive, and indicate the general form of this type of dress<sup>79</sup>. On the other hand, in the Eros scene, the buttoned fashionable short jacket imitates Persian fashion<sup>80</sup>.

A range of surviving costumes, excavated in the Caucasus, indicate the type of tailored wear that was worn even in distant hill tribes, under the influence of what had originally been Sasanian costume<sup>81</sup>. The Caucasian finds amalgamate scraps of Byzantine, Central Asian, and Chinese silks, which the tribesmen received in exchange for guiding traders across the Caucasians passes on to the Silk Road. Amongst the finds was the Byzantine Imperial tablet woven silk band of an official stationed in the Caucasus, Ivanès, whose name suggests Bulgarian origin<sup>82</sup>.

Returning to the Marcianus gr Z. 479 manuscript, folio 47r shows a particularly interesting scene, with a dominant female figure<sup>83</sup>. She is depicted in a white inner, thin, and delicate tunic with a long and wide sleeved mantle, and a cummerbund about the waist. A large, fashionable turban embellishes her head, which is encircled by a pearl band (Diagram, c). The other female figures shown on folio 47 are in long sleeveless tunics. In the hunting scenes (3r–4v), short tunics and fancy hose are the order of the day (Diagram, d). The depiction of 'the other' occurs on folio 53v, where two black individuals lead camels. One wears a striped Islamic head cloth and short tunic, whilst the other wears a long tunic and wrap (Furlan, *Codici greci illustrati* VI, fig. 20b). Only the headgear really distinguishes this costume. In further miniatures, other tiny details are interesting: the small fancy cap in the bear hunt on folio 44r (Furlan, *Codici greci illustrati* VI, fig. 9a), and the fur hats in the Eros scene, for example (Diagram, b). On folio 20r in a 'how to net a camel scene', a splendid pair of fancy stockings, and white boots are shown in combination with a short tunic bearing stripes, and a decoration or clavus about the neck (Furlan, *Codici greci illustrati* V, fig. 30c). The fancy collar and hem of the tunic of folio 14r (Diagram, f) is reminiscent of West European mediaeval dress<sup>84</sup>. The loincloth of the wrestler, tied at the waist with string, can be seen on folio 13v (Diagram, g); and the fancy long costume of the dancer appears with belt and pearled collar, on folio 12v (Diagram, h). The soldier's uniform is found

<sup>75</sup> For the subject of prostitutes and their dress, see S. LEONTINI, *Die Prostitution im frühen Byzanz*. Wien 1988, especially 88–9 for references to fine clothes, some perhaps of silk.

<sup>76</sup> Theatre costumes were also elaborate. See KOUKOULES, *Byzantinon Bios*, II/2, 15 with notes 8–10 for specific examples and source references.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. the contribution of B. Bjørnholt – L. James in the present publication. The Madrid Skylitzes (A. GRABAR – M. MANOUSSACAS, *L'illustration du manuscrit de Skylitzes de Madrid*. Venice 1979) may well show non-Byzantine influences but other specifically Byzantine manuscripts (e.g. Pseudo-Oppian, Venice Marcianus gr. Z. 479) appear very precise in their depiction of Byzantine costume.

<sup>78</sup> I. FURLAN, *Codici greci illustrati della Biblioteca Marciana*, 1–6. Milan-Padova 1978–1997, V 18–46 (Marc. gr. 479), esp. tav. XII and fig. 51b.

<sup>79</sup> For Syrian tunics, see Palmyra reference in note 45 above. For Egyptian tunics, see E. KENDRICK, *Catalogue of Textiles from Burying Grounds in Egypt*, 1–3. London 1920–1922.

<sup>80</sup> The costume occurs on folio 33r and it is illustrated by FURLAN, *Codici greci illustrati* V tav. XI and fig. 48b. The Sassanian short, buttoned jacket is reflected on a doll's jacket excavated in the Caucasus, see Von China nach Byzanz, eds. A. IERUSALIMSKAJA – B. BORKOPP. München 1996, 44, plates 28–32.

<sup>81</sup> A. A. IERUSALIMSKAJA, *Die Gräber der Moščevaja Balka. Frühmittelalterliche Funde an der nordkaukasischen Seidenstrasse*. München 1996, part II, 233–313, plates XIII–XXX, LX–LXXXVIII.

<sup>82</sup> See Von China nach Byzanz (as note 80) 68 and plate 79; A. JEROUSSALIMSKAJA, *Un chef militaire au Caucase du Nord? Le ruban en soie de Moščevaja Balka*, in: *Lithostroton. Studien zur byzantinischen Kunst und Geschichte*. Stuttgart 2000, 125–30.

<sup>83</sup> FURLAN, *Codici greci illustrati* VI, fig. 13a

<sup>84</sup> The Western element is the neck border with downward curled projections, cf. negative F1266 in the Venice Marciana slide archive.

on folio 6v (Furlan, *Codici greci illustrati* V, fig. 9a). The short tunic, tucked up in a way similar to that of agricultural workers in the West, is found on folio 3v in a hunting scene (Diagram, d).

In other manuscripts, the depiction of the drape of cloth (the head and shoulder veil on folio 23r of Marcianus gr Z. 538, for instance, Diagram, i), reveals what a marked grasp of the feel and the fall of cloth some Byzantine miniaturist enjoyed<sup>85</sup>.

In the Imperial portraits also, very fine mastery of the depiction of cloth is displayed with painstaking depiction of every detail. Take, for example, the portrait of Alexius V with griffin tunic<sup>86</sup>, or the portrait of Alexios Apokaukos (d. 1345), who is wearing a splendid rearing, addorsed panther in medallion motif silk. Close parallels for this design exist amongst the extant Byzantine silks<sup>87</sup>.

The surviving pieces typically date from the eleventh to twelfth centuries, and they represent the period of greatest technological experimentation, when the draw-loom with pattern device, developed in Byzantium over the previous five hundred years, was adapted for greater economy and efficiency<sup>88</sup>. In Byzantium, in the tenth to eleventh centuries, there occurred the introduction of monochrome fashions, as mentioned earlier. Along with this hand draw-loom were adapted to produce new weaves, the lampases, whose advantage over the traditional twills was that the same motifs (now monochrome entities) required only half as much manipulation of the pattern creating device to produce them<sup>89</sup>.

The textiles used for the costumes (with griffins or addorsed panthers), as shown in the mentioned miniatures, are strangely old fashioned for the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries<sup>90</sup>. It is almost as if the artist has depicted cherished favourites of the sitters in these thirteenth century manuscripts. With the intervention of the Latin occupation of Constantinople from 1204–1261, older costumes would have been pressed into use. What must be briefly emphasised is that images such as the eagle or the bicephalous eagle, the griffin, and the lion, took on great political significance in themselves<sup>91</sup>.

The variety of textiles and dress in Byzantine miniatures, and their close correspondence with surviving pieces and tailored garments, lends credence to the idea that they may indeed offer quite accurate records of actual costumes of the time. Imaginary cloths and fashions could have been much more simply depicted.

## THE SUBVERSION OF SIGNIFYING SYSTEMS

Discussion of textiles which express material and spiritual well-being, propriety, morality, allure and yet not wanton abandon, suggest that a certain in-built restraint existed within Byzantine society. But there were also opportunities for subversion of signifying systems<sup>92</sup>. Certainly, by the thirteenth century, subversion of elite dress codes was a problem, under the influence of the import of foreign cloths and styles. John Dukas in Nicaea ordered the prohibition of sumptuous foreign dress imported into his Empire<sup>93</sup>. The Venetian had

<sup>85</sup> For Marcianus gr Z. 538, see FURLAN, *Codici greci illustrati* I 27–33. On folio 23r a female figure is shown wearing a fringed mantle. This covers her head, neck, shoulders, and two arms, uplifted towards her face. The mantle has two lower stripes. The drapery of the mantle is shown as a series of complex hanging folds. The stripes moving in and out across these folds are accurately depicted. Sound knowledge of how cloth drapes is demonstrated.

<sup>86</sup> For the portrait of Alexius V, see A. GRABAR, *Byzantium*. London 1966, 21, plate 2. Also, I. SPATHARAKIS, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*. Leiden 1976, 152, 155–8, 180 and plate 99.

<sup>87</sup> For the Alexios Apokaukos miniature, see Byzance. *L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques Françaises*. Paris 1992–1993, plate 351 and G. MAKRI, Alexios Apokaukos und sein Porträt im Codex Paris gr. 2144, in: *Geschehenes und Geschriebenes. Studien zu Ehren von G. S. Henrich und K.-P. Matschke*, hrsg. v. S. KOLDITZ – R. C. MÜLLER. Leipzig 2005, 164–73. Addorsed rearing griffins are found on extant silks, see colour cover of MUTHESIOUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, and 50–4, Cat. nos. 47–9, 66 and 769a.

<sup>88</sup> On technical innovation, see MUTHESIOUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving*, chapter II (19–26) with bibliography in footnotes. Also chapter IX (85–93) and footnote 2 with reference to lampases.

<sup>89</sup> The pattern producing device is called the 'figure harness': CIETA Vocabulary 1964, under this name.

<sup>90</sup> Court costumes with gold or gold trellis designs are illustrated in Byzance (as note 87), plate 356 on page 463, and J. BECKWITH, *The art of Constantinople*. London 1968, 150, plate 202.

<sup>91</sup> The bicephalous eagle motif is discussed in A. MUTHESIOUS, *The Byzantine Eagle*, in: *Studies in Silk in Byzantium* (as note 3), chapter XIII, 227–36, with reference to earlier literature.

<sup>92</sup> See Joseph Bryennios, *Tines aitai tōn kath'ēmas lypērōn* 3, 121 (Boulgares) as cited by KOUKOULES, *Byzantinon Bios* II/2, 10.

<sup>93</sup> F. DÖLGER, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, 3. Teil. Regesten von 1204–1282. Zweite, erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage, bearbeitet von P. WIRTH. München 1977, nr. 1777 (ca. 1243).

to issue strong sumptuary prohibitions against wearing of velvet, silk, or gold woven cloths, embroideries, and gold bands<sup>94</sup>. Extortionate sums of money must also have been exchanged for these costumes at that time. In Egypt, even in the tenth to eleventh centuries, one pound of raw silk cost 2.5 dinars, a sum sufficient to maintain an average-sized family for a period of one month<sup>95</sup>. The relative absence of sumptuary legislation in Byzantium, as against the stringent and repeated levying of such prohibitions in the Latin West, suggests that Western influence may have encouraged excesses in dress amongst those rich enough to enjoy such finery in Byzantium.

#### THE DISPLAY OF SIGNIFYING SYSTEMS IN RELATION TO PUBLIC AND TO PRIVATE SPACE

It is evident from housing legislation, that the concept of private as opposed to public space, and the respect for the boundaries between the two, did exist in Byzantium<sup>96</sup>. The wealth of exposure to gorgeous and costly cloths enjoyed by the Byzantine citizen, particularly in the Metropolis, is also well attested; but how did textiles function in the privacy of closed and personal space?

The Emperor had a private as well as a public wardrobe<sup>97</sup>. Would it have been a tremendous relief to wear some fashionable and comfortable item of one's own? Niketas Choniates playfully suggests that the Emperor Andronikos I enjoyed the sensation of tightly tailored garments<sup>98</sup>. The personal observation and recording of a pattern on a lady's dress, found in a popular poem, and the existence of a Byzantine silk with precisely the described motif, a lion with multiple bodies, suggests that textiles could be enjoyed for themselves<sup>99</sup>. Individuals might also identify with their popular heroes or heroines, described in Romances, as being dressed in idealised costumes<sup>100</sup>. In the same way, they could identify with the purity of the Virgin, whose virtues were recorded in a series of weaving metaphors<sup>101</sup>. The homely practice of cottage based weaving is evoked also in Theodoret of Cyrus' description of God's ingenuity in developing the weaving arts<sup>102</sup>. These spiritual, romantic, and popular literary references to textiles, with their use of textile metaphors on a popular level, bring textiles and dress alive on a smaller and more intimate stage, quite distinct from that of the Imperial mass spectacle arena.

The broadening out of textile markets, to meet increased popular demand, is apparent in Byzantium as early as the twelfth century, when the fine silk dresses made in Thebes and Corinth are recorded<sup>103</sup>. The use of individual provincial dress codes in the capital also points to a sense of fashion, as opposed to one of ceremonial display. At precisely this period the Abbasids were developing a marked sense of etiquette and fashion, with manuals on the subject, which drew attention to individualism and style<sup>104</sup>. Time does not allow for elaboration along these lines of enquiry. Nevertheless any such discussion could make detailed use of the descriptions of the bridal trousseaux of the Cairo Geniza brides and all that these imply about gender roles,

<sup>94</sup> These prohibitions appeared not only in Venice but also in lands held under Venice. See M. M. NEWETT, *The sumptuary laws of Venice in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*, in: *Historical Essays*, ed. T. F. TOUT – J. TAIT, Manchester 1967, 245–78.

<sup>95</sup> S. D. GOITEIN, *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, I–VI, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1967–1993, I 101–4, and on silk prices 222–4.

<sup>96</sup> See the contribution of C. Saliou in the present publication.

<sup>97</sup> On public and private Imperial wardrobes, see MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving* 41 and note 37. Also see EADEM, *Courtly and aristocratic patronage and the uses of silk in Byzantium*, in: *Studies in silk in Byzantium*, London 2004, chapter V (85–108).

<sup>98</sup> Niketas Choniates, *Chronike diegesis* 252 (VAN DIETEN).

<sup>99</sup> For the multi-bodied lion silk, see MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving* 43 and note 53 with reference to literary description of this motif.

<sup>100</sup> Dress is vividly described for example in *Byzantine Epics*, see E. M. JEFFREYS (ed. and transl.), *Digenis Akritas* (*Cambridge Medieval Classics* 7), Cambridge 1998, 59. Here a 'surcoat of purple silk, sprinkled with gold with white triple border and ornamental griffins'; a costume called 'Roman dress' is described.

<sup>101</sup> Proklos, *Oratio* 1. *PG* 65–681. Discussed in MUTHESIUS, *Cult of Imperial and Ecclesiastical silks* (as note 3).

<sup>102</sup> Theodoret of Cyrillus, *De providentia oratio* IV. *PG* 83, 617–20, esp. 617D or Y. AZEMA, *Théodore de Cyr. Discours sur la Providence*, Paris 1954, 167–8. See on the relevant passages, MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving* 23–4.

<sup>103</sup> On silks of Thebes and Corinth, see Niketas Choniates, *Chronike diegesis* 461 (VAN DIETEN). Cf. E. KISLINGER, *Demenna und die byzantinische Seidenproduktion*, *BSI* 54/1 (1993) 43–52, esp. 44–5.

<sup>104</sup> For Abbasid etiquette, see AHSAN, *Social Life under the Abbasids*, chapter II on Costume (29–75), and chapter VII (275–96) on Festivals and Festivities.

social expectations, and the nature of well-being, in the privacy of domestic space in the eastern Mediterranean<sup>105</sup>. Suffice it to note, that the Byzantine silk covers took pride of place in dowry lists<sup>106</sup>.

### CONCLUSION

This paper asked why textiles and dress played such a prominent part in Byzantium. The answer lies, perhaps, in the multiplicity of levels and the complexity of structures that cloth managed to penetrate. The evidence suggests that, within complex ritual and ceremonial display, the relationship of Church to state, and of state to society, might be anchored. Political and economic concerns could be addressed using silk, in particular, as valuable economic asset but also as powerful political weapon<sup>107</sup>. At the same time, the development of intricate signifying systems for the purpose of social stratification, as well as the opportunity to subvert such imposed order, might have allowed textiles to act as a medium for the expression of greater individuality in Byzantium. This, taken in conjunction with the effect of widening markets and of greater exposure to foreign influences between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries, might explain why some authors lamented the intrusion of foreign textiles and dress codes into Byzantium by the time of the fall of the Empire<sup>108</sup>. It is perhaps ironic that Byzantine textiles and dress codes, initially developed by the court as symbols of power and authority, and subsequently variously adapted and appropriated into the private realm, became subject to overthrow, somehow foreshadowing the fall of the Empire itself.

<sup>105</sup> For the bridal dowries, consult GOITEIN, *Mediterranean Society IV* (section Bi, Clothing, 150–200), and Y. K. STILLMANN, *Female attire of Medieval Egypt: according to the trousseau lists and cognate Material from the Cairo Geniza*. Washington, D.C. 1972 (PhD), 93–6.

<sup>106</sup> The Byzantine bedcovers are described in GOITEIN, *Mediterranean Society IV* 105–37 and appendix C, 297–309, 303, especially, cites Byzantine brocade covers.

<sup>107</sup> The present author has under publication a paper ‘Silk as Politics’ delivered at the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens, as part of the public lecture series, *Byzantium as Oecumenical State*. This will be published by the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens.

<sup>108</sup> See, for example, Emmanuel Georgelas „Limenites“, *To Thanatikon tes Rhodou*, in *Bibliothèque grecque Vulgaire*, ed. E. LEGRAND, I. Paris 1880 (reprinted Athens 1974), 206–9. Cf. A. MICHA-LAMPAKI, *To Θανατικόν της Ρόδου ως πηγή πληροφοριών για την γυναικεία ενδυμασία της νήσου*. *Byzantinos Domos* 3 (1989) 51–62.





Diagrams: Marcianus gr. Z. 479 (s. XI), Pseudo-Oppian, *Cynegetica*.

a – ivory carver (folio 36r), b – detail of Eros scene, showing figure in fitted jacket and fur cap (33r), c – the mistress of the house from a domestic scene (47r), d – detail of a hunting scene, with hunter wearing a tunic (3v), e – detail of a figure wearing tunic with clavi decoration (20v), f – detail of a costume with fancy collar and hem (14r), g – detail of a scene with wrestler wearing a loin cloth (13v), h – detail of a dancer (12v), Marcianus gr. Z. 538 (ca. 905), Job manuscript. i – detail of a figure wearing a head veil and a shoulder wrap with fringe (23r).





VIVIAN NUTTON

## Galen in Byzantium

Galen in Byzantium is one of those titles that becomes ever more problematic the more one studies it, for “Galen” can be understood in a variety of different ways. It can, for example, be taken to mean Galenism, the way in which the medical doctrines of the great doctor from Pergamum came to dominate the whole field of medicine in the Byzantine world, almost from its inception<sup>1</sup>. This process was largely complete by the seventh century. But Galen was also a historical personage, and one can ask what the Byzantines knew, or rather, thought they knew of him. Here the relevant sources are drawn largely from authors of the sixth to the twelfth century. Galen was also a writer, and the third section of this paper will look briefly at the fate of the Galenic Corpus, as a scribal object, from the ninth to the fifteenth century. Finally, I want to consider how individual medical men reacted to the words and theories of Galen.

Galenism may be defined as the process whereby the theories and prejudices of a second-century doctor came to dominate the whole world of medicine to such an extent that, in Greek at any rate, the vast majority of medical texts to survive in full from Antiquity are either by Galen; by followers of Galen; and by authors of whom he approved, principally Hippocrates and the Hippocratic Corpus. The only exceptions to this universal Galenism are the half dozen or so treatises that became attached to the Galenic Corpus – like the *Introduction to Medicine* – or filled in major gaps that Galen had left – gynaecology (with Soranos), medical botany (with Dioskorides) and the classification of diseases (with Aretaeos). Everything else is Galenic, written by him and his favoured authors, and setting out a theory of medicine, based on the four humours, phlegm, blood, bile, and black bile, and on Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy. What in Galen’s lifetime (129–216/7) had been a world of vigorous medical debate between vastly different theories had by the sixth century become uniform. The last recorded Methodist in the Greek world lived in the fourth century, although Methodist writers favouring a corpuscular theory of the body continued in Latin-speaking N. Africa for at least another century<sup>2</sup>. Another medical grouping criticised by Galen, the Empiricists, apparently disappears by the end of the third century; the Pneumatists perhaps a little later<sup>3</sup>. Debates, as we shall see later, centre on interpretations of Galenism, not on alternatives to Galenism.

It is a process already well in train by 350 A.D., at Alexandria, the greatest medical centre of the ancient world, and elsewhere. Around 60% of the extracts that make up the massive medical encyclopedias of Oribasios, the doctor to the Emperor Julian, are taken from Galen, and the percentage increases in the subsequent productions of Aetios and Paul of Aegina. In these authors, passages by authors other than Galen are either dropped or inserted without acknowledgment into sections from Galen, adding to his superiority. By 500, if not much earlier, learned doctors in Alexandria and Constantinople were lecturing upon Galen, and there had developed medical courses in the form of a syllabus of Galenic (and to a much lesser extent, Hippocratic) writings<sup>4</sup>. Proper or formal medicine thus came to be defined as knowledge of certain books, principally those of Galen. This syllabus, or at least part of it, was taught, in Latin, at Ravenna; and in Syriac, in the intellectual centres of the Middle East, from the mid-6th century onwards<sup>5</sup>. Translated into Arabic in the 9th cent., it became the foundation for the medicine of the Arabic world, and subsequently, after a further series of translations, of the universities of the Western Middle Ages. It came accompanied by the paraphernalia of education: there were summaries to help students pick out quickly the main points of Galenic books, and

<sup>1</sup> Fundamental is O. TEMKIN, *Galenism. Rise and decline of a medical philosophy*. Ithaca 1973.

<sup>2</sup> M. M. TECUSAN, *The fragments of the Methodists*. Leiden 2003, supersedes all earlier collections.

<sup>3</sup> K. DEICHGRÄBER, *Die griechische Empirikerschule*. Berlin 1965; *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 9578 (unless “man of the spirit” refers to his being a Christian).

<sup>4</sup> L. I. CONRAD – M. NEVE – V. NUTTON – R. PORTER – A. WEAR, *The Western medical tradition*. Cambridge 1995, 87.

<sup>5</sup> P. MUDRY – J. PIGEAUD, *Les écoles médicales à Rome*. Geneva 1991, 285–310; E. LIEBER, *Galen in Hebrew*, in: *Galen; Problems and prospects*, ed. V. NUTTON. London 1981, 167–86, discusses the formation of the oriental Canon(s).

short practical handbooks of Galenic medicine, in Greek and in Syriac, that revealed succinctly the main outlines of Galenic therapeutics<sup>6</sup>.

Such aids, it must be admitted, were essential in order to trace a path through the many treatises of the prolific Pergamene, but they came with a price. Many of the most interesting features of Galen were lost or downplayed – his emphasis on hands-on experience and on frequent experiment; his willingness to consider alternatives, even if to reject them; his inconsistencies; his personal reminiscences; and even his enthusiastic encouragement of others. They were replaced by dogmatism, systematic or systematised statements and conclusions from which there was apparently no appeal<sup>7</sup>.

How and why this came about is not entirely clear. It was undoubtedly necessary to find some way of comprehending Galen's ideas – he wrote in all more than 300 treatises, almost 200 on medicine alone, a formidable quantity, but why he gained such authority in the first place needs explanation. One might point to his great learning, “far more than any man now can have”, lamented a Byzantine professor, and to his near immaculate powers of argument (if one accepted his premises, many of which he claimed were “commonsense”, then his conclusions followed precisely), and, above all, to his immensely potent rhetoric of certainty. He preached a medicine that was final: Hippocrates had resolved almost all the problems – he was after all, in Galen's eyes, an anatomist, a philosopher, the teacher of Plato, as well as a physician – and the little he had left unfinished, Galen himself had brought to perfection. Time and again Galen thundered that he had the right answer, that radical development was unnecessary, if not impossible, and that, if approached with care and precision, even the most refractory of cases would yield solidity and certainty – and people believed him<sup>8</sup>.

He presented his own career as an exemplar of virtue triumphant, of the local boy from provincial Pergamum, a young genius, who fought off the slings and arrows of his competitors to become the consummate physician to Roman emperors from Marcus Aurelius in the 160s until Septimius Severus, if not Caracalla, fifty years later<sup>9</sup>. About his own great wealth, unusual education, and social connections in Rome, let alone the fact that he was merely one of several imperial physicians at the time, Galen was reticent. What mattered was his self-presentation, as the infallible, authoritative, and, above all, thoughtful physician.

But of the details of his life, the Byzantines knew relatively little. The entry in the *Suda* lexicon, written about 1000, is brief<sup>10</sup>: Galen, the most distinguished physician, a Pergamene, lived in the reigns of the emperors Marcus, Commodus and Pertinax in Rome. The son of a land-surveyor and architect, Nikon, he wrote much on medicine and philosophy, besides grammar and rhetoric. Because they are universally famous, I thought it inappropriate to draw up a list of them here. He died aged seventy.

This entry is not without its merits and it is, at least in part, based on the evidence of Galen himself. In all likelihood, it derives from a much earlier biography, perhaps the one written at the end of the sixth century by Hesychios of Miletos. The *Lives* written by Hesychios we know to have been a major source for the *Suda*. But there were other stories circulating in Byzantium that gave different dates for the length of Galen's life. Learned chronographers, like George Hamartolos, John Tzetzes (d. 1080–1085) and Joel (active after 1204), declared that Galen had lived into the reign of Caracalla, i.e. 211/2–217, a date that is incompatible with that in the *Suda*<sup>11</sup>. It does, however, fit with the tradition in Arabic authors, almost certainly going back to sixth century Alexandria, if not earlier, that placed Galen's age at death as 87, i.e. in 216/217. This I have argued is compatible with data in the Galenic Corpus that puts him alive in 207 or a year later. The *Suda*'s error, which confused scholars for centuries, can be easily explained as a hurried miscopying or misunder-

<sup>6</sup> Ivan Garofalo will shortly publish an edition of the so-called Alexandrian summaries, preceded by a discussion of their genesis.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. B. GUNDERT, *Die Tabulae Vindobonenses als Zeugnis alexandrinischer Lehrtätigkeit um 600 n. Chr.*, in: *Text and tradition. Studies in ancient medicine and its transmission presented to Jutta Kollesch*, eds. K. D. FISCHER – D. NICKEL – P. POTTER. Leiden 1998, 91–144.

<sup>8</sup> A study of Galen's rhetoric is a desideratum, cf. V. NUTTON, *Style and context in the Method of Healing*, in: *Galen's Method of healing*, eds. F. KUDLIEN – R. J. DURLING. Leiden 1991, 1–25.

<sup>9</sup> S. SWAIN, *Hellenism and Empire*. Oxford 1996, discusses the life of Galen in its social and intellectual context. P. N. SINGER's introduction to *Galen. Selected works*. Oxford 1999, sets out Galen's medical and philosophical ideas.

<sup>10</sup> *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. ADLER, vol. I, Leipzig 1928, s.v. Galenos.

<sup>11</sup> George Hamartolos (= George the Monk), *Chronicon*, ed. P. WIRTH. Stuttgart 1978, 480; Michael Glykas, *Annales*, ed. I. BEKKER. Bonn 1836, 430; John Tzetzes, *Historiae*, ed. P. A. M. LEONE. Naples 1968, XI 998–XII 28; *Epistulae*, ed. P. A. M. LEONE. Leipzig 1972, 121; Joel, *Chronographia*, ed. F. IADEVAIA. Messina 1979, 707–9. Cf. also George Synkellos, *Ecloga chronographica*, ed. A. A. MOSSHAMMER. Leipzig 1984, 431.

standing of the statement, found in our Arabic sources, that Galen had spent 70 years of his life as a physician – after 17 years as a student<sup>12</sup>.

But historical truth is often less potent than falsehood, and two widely circulated stories may have been more influential in establishing the Byzantine picture of Galen than any academic biography. The first, again deriving from a misunderstanding of a Galenic passage, was that Galen had learnt his pharmacology from no less an expert than Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, and had been alive in the time of Nero, indeed in the time of Christ. This story may be connected with another one, circulating in the twelfth century, if not earlier, that Galen had discussed with Mary Magdalene in Rome Christ's healing of the man born blind, John, chapter 9, and had explained to her that such healing was possible because Jesus was well acquainted with the healing properties of mineral earths<sup>13</sup>. It would be nice to have Byzantine evidence for the further story, widespread in the Near East and in W. Europe in the later Middle Ages, that Galen had become a Christian, and had died on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Twelfth-century travellers in Sicily were shown the tomb of Galen, on the left of the road from Misilmeri to Palermo, where Galen had stopped off on his journey to find the friends and acquaintances of Jesus<sup>14</sup>.

This story of Galen the Christian convert, or at least the acquaintance of early Christians, may have contributed to the tradition that, in certain Balkan churches, sets a portrait of Galen among those sages, like Plato and Plutarch, who had in some way foretold or acknowledged the coming of Christ<sup>15</sup>. The tradition appears in literature in the life of Saint Prokopios, written about 890, where Galen is included among the "philosophers of the kosmos", whose arguments have proved the truth of Christianity. Their message was one and unequivocal. By contrast with the God who made the heavens, all other gods were either created by man, or had simply been called gods; all alike, were doomed to destruction and decay. Galen had believed in a single God, just like Aristotle, Plato, Socrates, Scamander and Hermes Trismegistos<sup>16</sup>.

This appropriation of Galen to Christianity, what I have elsewhere termed depaganisation, is particularly marked since Galen's views on the Jews and Christians were far from complimentary. He approved of their morality, but despised their logic and belief in miracles. His ideas, as every reader of Eusebios knew, had inspired an early heresy, that of the Theodotos the shoemaker<sup>17</sup>. True, more than one saint, including Cosmas and Damian, was familiar with the works of Hippocrates and Galen, and George of Pisidia, in a splendid trope, could call Christ the true Galen of the soul, but other hagiographers take pains to point to their inadequacy<sup>18</sup>. Saint Panteleimon, for example, who had studied the *paideia* of Asclepius, Hippocrates and Galen, gave it all up, on discovering that their works were ultimately trivial and of little use<sup>19</sup>. In recension D of the life of Saint Euplos, perhaps by Metaphrastes, Kalvisianos the corrector is challenged by the saint to name his gods, so that he might worship them: Kalvisianos' response is surprising – Zeus, Asclepius, Artemis, – and Galen<sup>20</sup>.

The word used for worship in this passage, *proskynein*, is the same used by Eusebios when describing the attitude of the heretic Theodotos to Galen in the early 3rd century. Given the magnitude of Galen's achievement, such awe and wonder is not surprising. The range of his interests and writings is enormous, from logic to anatomy, from studies of the language of Aristophanes and the comic poets to physiology, from expositions of the Hippocratic Epidemics to massive tomes on pharmacology, from ethics to slimming, from clinical observation to scientific demonstration, from vivisection of animals to the properties of foodstuffs<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> V. NUTTON, Galen Ad multos annos. *Dynamis* 15 (1995) 25–40; IDEM, Galen on theriac: problems of authenticity, in: Galen on pharmacology. Philosophy, history and medicine, ed. A. DEBRU. Leiden 1997, 133–52.

<sup>13</sup> Glykas, 430. Tzetzes, *Historiae* xi, 397; *Epistulae*, 121. Cf. M. ULLMANN, Kleopatra in einer arabischen alchemistischen Disputation. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 63/64 (1972) 158–75.

<sup>14</sup> V. NUTTON, God, Galen and the depaganisation of ancient medicine, in: *Religion and medicine in the Middle Ages*, eds. P. BILLER – J. ZIEGLER. York 2001, 18–32 [30–32].

<sup>15</sup> NUTTON, God 18.

<sup>16</sup> A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Analecta Hierosolymitana*, V. St Petersburg 1898, 19.

<sup>17</sup> Eusebios, *Ecclesiastical History* 5, 28,13–14. R. WALZER, Galen on Jews and Christians. London 1949; S. GERO, Galen on the Christians: a reappraisal of the Arabic evidence. *OC* 56 (1990) 371–411.

<sup>18</sup> N.N., *Vita sanctorum Cosmae et Damiani*. *AnBoll* 1 (1882) 589–90; George of Pisidia, *Hexaameron* 1544, cf. 1388–9, ed. R. HERCHER, *Claudius Aelianus, Varia*. Leipzig 1866, II 651, 646.

<sup>19</sup> P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *Note agiografiche* 7 (*StT* 49). Vatican 1928, 41.

<sup>20</sup> FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI, *Note agiografiche* 27.

<sup>21</sup> See Galen's *On my own books*, trans. by P. N. SINGER, in: *Galen. Selected works*. Oxford 1997, 3–22.

Within these treatises, some of them a mere handful of pages long, others taking up over five hundred pages in the standard edition, Galen found time to offer his thoughts on almost every conceivable topic, from the fighting habits of the mongoose to Swiss yoghurt. The longwindedness of Galen was a constant complaint, from doctors and philosophers alike: Galen should have known how to wear the bridle, complained one rhetorician<sup>22</sup>. Famously, Galen does not figure personally in the satire *Timarion*, because he is away scribbling, adding yet more information to an ever-growing (and never-finished) supplementary volume on fevers<sup>23</sup>.

But how much of Galen's writings did the Byzantines know? Certainly, by 500 at the latest, all traces of his philological writings had disappeared, save for his Hippocratic glossary, and much of his philosophical and scientific output was in danger. Marinos of Siche in the early sixth century is, I think, the last Greek philosopher to have a detailed acquaintance with Galen's Platonic summaries, although they survived to be translated into Arabic in the late 9th century by Hunain ibn Ishaq<sup>24</sup>. Hunain's celebrated *Risala* (Missive), detailing the Arabic and Syriac translations of Galen, and his second letter on the works of Galen left out of his autobiographical, give us a remarkable snapshot of what survived in Greek around 850<sup>25</sup>. From a comparison with what can be read in Greek today it is easy to see that what was then available of Galen's strictly medical writings has remained largely intact. Major exceptions are the second half of his big book on anatomy, *On anatomical procedures* (available in Arabic) and his work *On the eye*<sup>26</sup>. His own summary of his *Method of healing*, lost in Greek, will be published very soon for the first time, again from Hunain's Arabic<sup>27</sup>. Several of his Hippocratic Commentaries, notably those on the Oath, Airs, waters, and places, and the Epidemics, were lost in Greek and remain only or for the most part in Arabic translation<sup>28</sup>. But large chunks of his philosophical and scientific writings, which were already difficult for Hunain to acquire, have now disappeared totally or almost totally in Greek, and many of them have yet to be found in Arabic or other oriental versions. Major losses include the big book *On scientific demonstration*; and his Platonic summaries and commentaries<sup>29</sup>.

Hunain's comments on the difficulty with which he obtained copies of many of these philosophical works of Galen suggest that most of these would have been lost in Greek by 1000, rather than in the crusader sack of Constantinople. 1453, however, may have been more damaging to Galen's legacy, for several of the minor works of Galen that had been translated into Latin by Niccolò da Reggio in the first half of the fourteenth century no longer survive in Greek, or, like the recently (re)discovered *On movements hard to explain*, only in a fragmentary form<sup>30</sup>. Niccolò, a doctor, diplomat and translator at the Angevin court of Naples, relied on manuscripts available to him in S. Italy or in Constantinople, although precise details of where he obtained

<sup>22</sup> TEMKIN, *Galenism* 67.

<sup>23</sup> *Timarion*, lines 715 ff. (75 ROMANO).

<sup>24</sup> Damascius, *Life of Isidore* 199 (ZINTZEN).

<sup>25</sup> G. BERGSTRÄSSER, Hunain ibn Ishaq, Über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XVII 2). Stuttgart 1925; IDEM, Neue Materialien zu Hunain ibn Ishaq's Galen-bibliographie (*Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XIX 2). Stuttgart 1932. An English summary, based on the first text alone, was given by M. MEYERHOF, New light on Hunain Ibn Ishaq and his period. *Isis* 8 (1926) 685–724, reprinted, with identical pagination, in M. MEYERHOF, *Studies in medieval Arabic medicine*. London 1984.

<sup>26</sup> Galen, *Anatomicarum Administrationum Libri qui supersunt novem*, ed. I. GAROFALO; earundem interpretatio arabica Hunaino Isaaci filio ascripta. Naples 1986–2000: IDEM, *Procedimenti anatomici*, Milan 1991 (containing a translation of the Arabic books 10–15). How much of Galen's treatise on the eye is subsumed in ninth century Arabic ophthalmology is disputed, see E. SAVAGE-SMITH, Hellenistic and Byzantine ophthalmology: trachoma and sequelae. *DOP* 38 (1984) 168–86.

<sup>27</sup> I. GAROFALO, Una nuova opera di Galeno: La Synopsis del De Methodo Medendi in versione araba. *Studi classici e orientali* 47 (1999) 9–19.

<sup>28</sup> The Epidemics commentaries were published by E. WENKEBACH and F. PFAFF in the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* series, Berlin and Leipzig 1934–1960, and the edition of that of Airs, waters and places, by G. STROHMAIER, is imminent in the same series. For the commentary on the Oath, see F. ROSENTHAL, An ancient commentary on the Hippocratic Oath. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 30 (1956) 52–87.

<sup>29</sup> I. VON MÜLLER, Über Galens Werk vom wissenschaftlichen Beweis. *Abhandlungen der Münchener Akademie der Wissenschaften* 20 (1895) 403–78, but more fragments have since reappeared in Arabic; P. KRAUS – R. WALZER, *Compendium Timaei Platonis*. London 1951; H. O. SCHRÖDER – P. KAHLE, *Galenus in Platonis Timaeum Commentarius*. Berlin – Leipzig 1934.

<sup>30</sup> C. J. LARRAIN, Galen, De motibus dubiis: die lateinische Übersetzung des Niccolò da Reggio. *Traditio* 49 (1994) 171–233.



them are not forthcoming<sup>31</sup>. Certain of the choice texts he turned into precise Latin were alluded to in the twelfth century in Michael Italos' funeral oration on the doctor Michael Pantechnes, as Aimilios Mavroudis has recently demonstrated<sup>32</sup>. But texts like *On the parts of medicine* and *On antecedent causes* were scarcely the everyday reading of the average doctor, in the West as much as in Byzantium. One Latin manuscript of Niccolo's versions was discovered through its awful smell as it rotted away on top of a cupboard in a German library<sup>33</sup>. One can hardly blame the Byzantine doctor from shying away from the bulk, and the enormous expense, of a total Galen – after all, even today, few medical historians or classicists have read Galen from cover to cover, and still fewer have done it twice. Byzantine doctors restricted themselves to the main outlines of the old syllabus, or to summaries and abridgments, like that in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale fonds grec 2332, which presented some unfamiliar treatises as a series of extracts in sequence<sup>34</sup>. Anything beyond that was a mark of the truly learned.

This restriction of Galen in the middle years of Byzantium largely to his medical writings, and a relatively small selection of those, means that Byzantine Galenism has a very different stamp from that in Islam, or in the Late Medieval West, influenced by Avicenna, Averroes and the like. There is little understanding of Galen as an independent philosophical thinker of stature. A few Aristotelian commentators repeat their disdain for his refusal to pronounce on the eternity of the world, but there is not the detailed engagement with Galen's philosophical position as we find in Rhazes, Avicenna, and Maimonides<sup>35</sup>. The sixth-century theologian Isidore of Pelusium's refutation of Galen's views on the soul is a rarity, not least in its acuity<sup>36</sup>.

Similarly, as far as medicine was concerned, Byzantine doctors rarely challenged, modified or questioned their Galenic legacy to any great extent. There are no Byzantine doubts on Galen, save for Simeon Seth (who was probably imitating Arabic authors), no debates on the proper use of Galenic material from less familiar works, such as we find between Ibn Ridwan and Ibn Butlan<sup>37</sup>. There are few, if any, disputes in Middle and Late Byzantium parallel to that mentioned by Alexander of Tralles in the 6th century between himself, a thinking Galenist, and his rigorist opponent, unwilling to go beyond the words of Galen even if the patient died<sup>38</sup>. One looks in vain for any evidence of systematic anatomy – and, pace Browning, Bliquez, and Kazhdan, for almost any anatomy at all<sup>39</sup>. One cannot write a history of the vivifying impact on Byzantine medicine of the discovery or rediscovery of Galenic texts as Luis Garcia Ballester and Nancy Siraisi have done for Western Europe<sup>40</sup>. At best the Byzantine Galen remains an unchallenged substrate, to which new therapies can be added, along with their traditional Galenic explanations.

But to seek for Galenic revivals in Byzantine medicine is to ask the wrong question. For the Byzantines Galen was always there, something familiar, and for that reason unlikely to have the challenging force that he had when arriving afresh in translated form to extend or refine existing knowledge. But how widespread that knowledge of Galen's writings was and the extent to which it influenced medical practice in general are

<sup>31</sup> L. THORNDIKE, Translations of the works of Galen from the Greek by Niccolò da Reggio. *Byzantina Metabyzantina* 1 (1946) 213–35; the background is given by R. WEISS, The translators from the Greek of the Angevin court of Naples. *Rinascimento* 1 (1950) 195–226. M. R. McVAUGH, Niccolò da Reggio's translations of Galen. *Early Science and Medicine* 11 (2005) 275–301.

<sup>32</sup> A. D. MAUROUDES, Ο Μιχαήλ Ιταλικός και ο Γαληνός. *Hell* 43 (1993) 29–44.

<sup>33</sup> R. STAUBER, Die Schedelsche Bibliothek. (Repr.) Nieuwkoop 1969, 249.

<sup>34</sup> H. OMONT, Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Pars 2, Paris 1888, 242: a copy of this manuscript is Vienna, med. gr. 15.

<sup>35</sup> J. C. BÜRGE, Averroes contra Galenum. *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* 1967, 265–340.

<sup>36</sup> Isidore of Pelusium, Ep. IV125. *PG* 78, 1192–204.

<sup>37</sup> TEMKIN, Galenism, 119; for Seth's knowledge of Arabic authors, see G. HARIG, Von den arabischen Quellen des Symeon Seth. *Medizinhistorisches Journal* 2 (1967) 248–68. Cf. J. SCHACHT – M. MEYERHOF, The medico-philosophical controversy between Ibn Butlan of Baghdad and Ibn Ridwan of Cairo: a contribution to the history of Greek learning among the Arabs. Cairo 1937.

<sup>38</sup> Alexander of Tralles, II 83 (155 PUSCHMANN).

<sup>39</sup> L. J. BLIQUEZ – A. KAZHDAN, Four testimonia to human dissection in Byzantine times. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 58 (1984) 554–7; R. BROWNING, A further testimony to human dissection in the Byzantine world. *ibid.* 59 (1985) 518–20. Of their testimonia, to which I add Athanasios of Sinai, Quaestiones 92. *PG* 89, 730, only one, Theophanes, refers to an actual event (and Synkellos' reasoning may be wrong): Ps. Eustathios, Athanasios, Symeon and Tornikes are quoting Galen (directly or indirectly, cf. Origen, Philocalia fr. ii, 2), as could be Michael Italos, whose rhetorical flourishes should not be pressed as hard as Browning wants.

<sup>40</sup> L. GARCÍA BALLESTER, The New Galen: a challenge to Latin Galenism in thirteenth-century Montpellier, in: Text and tradition. Studies in ancient medicine and its transmission presented to Jutta Kollesch, eds. K. D. FISCHER – D. NICKEL – P. POTTER. Leiden 1998, 55–84; N. G. SIRAISSI, Taddeo Alderotti and his pupils. Two generations of Italian medical learning. Princeton 1981.

still questions in need of much more research. One would like to know, for example, if it was only elite doctors in Constantinople who had access to or who read manuscripts of Galen beyond the standard syllabus. The recent discovery of a fragment of Galen's Commentary on the Hippocratic Aphorisms copied in Syria (Damascus ?) perhaps as late as the fifteenth century serves as a warning against assuming a metropolitan monopoly of Galenic manuscripts<sup>41</sup>.

Such a re-evaluation of Byzantine Galenism would be a major task, yet there are several indications that the attempt would be likely to bring forth fruit. Firstly, a variety of references suggest that a knowledge of Galen was not confined to medical men. Germanos of Constantinople, around 700, can quote from Galen's On sects in his On predestined terms of life<sup>42</sup>. Four hundred years later Theophylaktos of Ochrid, around 1088–1089, asked his friend Nikolaos Kallikles for the loan or a copy of a book of Galen, perhaps On the opinions of Hippocrates and Plato. His request was answered, and we have Theophylakt's poem of thanks to prove it<sup>43</sup>. His contemporary, John Merkuropoulos of Jerusalem, patriarch of Jerusalem, cited Galen to the effect that the sting of pain was not removed until a cut has been made airtight<sup>44</sup>. Psellos could quote Galen on sensation, as well as alluding to his praise of a naturally large head<sup>45</sup>. Far more needs to be done by Byzantinists to evaluate the extent of this non-medical interest in Galen.

Secondly, the researches of Carlos Larrain in the Escorial library have brought to light fragments, some substantial, of unusual works by or attributed to Galen included among theological miscellanies, perhaps copied for theological purposes, perhaps casually bound together<sup>46</sup>. Paul Moraux's publication of some Galenic scholia has also shown how an unknown author could use a wide knowledge of Galen to interpret some basic Galenic texts<sup>47</sup>. A survey of the manuscript context of the various treatises within the Galenic Corpus would lead to some interesting results.

Finally, the more we know about unfamiliar Byzantine medical and theological authors and practitioners, the more extensive the influence of Galen and Galenism may be seen. The French palaeographer and Byzantinist Brigitte Mondrain has recently surveyed the manuscripts associated with Demetrios Angelos, teacher and doctor at the Kral hospital in the first half of the fifteenth century<sup>48</sup>. Not only did Demetrios own and commission manuscripts, but he also commented extensively in their margins on Galen's theories and observations, comparing them with his own experiences in practice. We have here a rare opportunity to penetrate into the working practices of a Byzantine Galenist, of some stature and intelligence, and to see his engagement with his great predecessor. Western medievalists and Renaissance scholars have long been familiar with this methodology, but, to my knowledge, little has been done for Byzantium<sup>49</sup>.

These exhortations may not compel scholars to leave their desks and descend on the shelves of Athens, Athos, or even the rue de Richelieu in search of another Demetrios. Rather, they serve as a warning that this brief sketch of the vicissitudes of Galen in Byzantium, and particularly its last section, is no more than a provisional survey, as much the result of this author's ignorance as of his understanding. The proper history of the afterlife and influence of Galen of Pergamum in the Byzantine period, and particularly from the tenth century onwards, still remains to be written. But that is a challenge, not a complaint.

<sup>41</sup> V. NUTTON – N. SERIKOFF, A Greek Fragments of Galen's Commentary on the Hippocratic Aphorisms from a Christian Arabic Manuscript, in: *Trasmissione e ecdotica di testi medici greci*, a cura di A. GARZYA – J. JOUANNA. Naples 2003, 385–400.

<sup>42</sup> Germanos, On predestined terms of life, tr. C. GARTON – L. G. WESTERINK. Buffalo 1979, 10–2.

<sup>43</sup> Theophylakt, Ep. 57. *PG* 126, 476B–C; S. G. MERCATI, *Collectanea Byzantina*. Rome 1970, 361–2.

<sup>44</sup> A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Analecta Hierosolymitana*, I. St Petersburg 189, 324.

<sup>45</sup> M. Psellos, *Philosophica Minora* II, ed. D. J. O'MEARA. Leipzig 1989, 58, 93.

<sup>46</sup> Above, note 29; C. J. LARRAIN, *Galens Kommentar zu Platons Timaios*. Stuttgart 1992 (although the fragments here edited are very unlikely to come from this commentary or even directly from Galen.)

<sup>47</sup> P. MORAUX, *Unbekannte Galen-Scholien*. *ZPE* 27 (1977) 1–63; IDEM, *Anecdota Graeca Minora* VI. Pseudo-Galen, *De signis ex urinis*, *ibid.* 60 (1985) 64–74 (one of whose manuscripts, Naples, BN Gerol. XXI.1, contains a block of material on medicine alongside a more substantial body of Aristotelian philosophical writings).

<sup>48</sup> B. MONDRAIN, Jean Argyropoulos, professeur à Constantinople et ses auditeurs médecins, d'Andronic Éparque à Démétrios Angelos, in: *ΠΟΛΥΓΛΩΣΣΟΝ ΝΟΨΕ*. *Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, eds. C. SCHOLZ – G. MAKRISS (*Byzantinisches Archiv* 19). Leipzig 2000, 222–50.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. also my discussion of some 16th-century bilingual notes on Galen, Marginally significant. *The Osler Library Newsletter* 95 (2001) 1–4; but see now V. BOUDON-MILLOT, *Galien*, tome I. Paris 2007, XCI–CCXVIII.

HELEN PAPASTAVROU

## The Byzantine Tradition on the Decoration of a 17<sup>th</sup> Century *Sakkos* (Inv. No 754) in the Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens

(with plates 33–35)

In the Byzantine and Christian Museum's textile collection there is a gold-embroidered sacerdotal robe, named *sakkos*, which is 120 cm high and 108 cm wide (pl. 33a, figs. 1, 2). Embroidery covers both of its sides. On the front, the dominant composition of Christ the Vine is accompanied by an evangelical scene, the Annunciation. On the back we can see the Virgin enthroned among the Prophets. The *sakkos* came to the Byzantine and Christian Museum through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from Eastern Romylia, a region in the area of Southern Bulgaria, North of Thrace. According to a written document of 4 December 1907, the *sakkos* makes up part of a patriarchal costume<sup>1</sup>. Although it has been mentioned in studies such as those of George Soteriou<sup>2</sup> and Maria Theochari<sup>3</sup>, this important artifact still remains to be explored.

It is a robe made of red silk cloth, reinforced by thick linen cloth, and lined with a blue cotton cloth. There are sleeves, and an opening for the head. On both sides the *sakkos* remains open, but it can be closed with ribbons at some points, initially from which were hanging little bells. The armpit has a round form, in accordance with the fashion during the time of the Ottoman occupation. The naming of the *sakkos* occurs by the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>4</sup>. It is very similar to the emperor's garment<sup>5</sup>, the *divitision*, a chiton with wide sleeves which did not cover the wrists. By the 11<sup>th</sup> century it becomes a garment of the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople. By the 13<sup>th</sup> century excellent bishops can wear it, whereas, by the 17<sup>th</sup> century, regularly, the *sakkos* makes up part of the ward-robe of high priests<sup>6</sup>. As with all ecclesiastical garments, it is charged with a certain symbolic value. It symbolizes the virtue of the justice according to Psalm 132:9 and must be connected with the Old Testament text referring to the Jewish high priest's robe (Exodus 28, 32–35)<sup>7</sup>.

On the front of the *sakkos* (pl. 33b, fig. 1), we can see the bust of Christ in a vine. He has a cross-nimbus and he makes a gesture of blessing, extending both of his hands. An open book is in front of Him. On both sides, are represented the busts of His disciples, surrounded by vine branches. A special place, which is situated in a spot closer to Christ, is occupied by the first pair of the Apostles, Peter and Paul. The composition is drawn from the Gospel of St. John, IE', 1–2, and the inscription in the open book reads: “Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή, καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ γεωργὸς ἐστίν. πᾶν κλήμα ἐν ἐμοὶ ...”

<sup>1</sup> I owe this information to my colleague Rania Fatola. According to a document of the Foreign Ministry dated to 24 December 1907, which belongs to the Archives of the Byzantine and Christian Museum (Athens), we learn that Pericles Panagopoulos, vice-consul of Greece in Pyrgos, Eastern Romylia, has succeeded to convince the ecclesiastical committee of the Bishopric of Mesembria to cede to the Foreign Ministry in Greece, ecclesiastical objects of great historical value, in order that they would be kept in the Museum of the Ecclesiastical Archaeological Society. Among them, the *sakkos* makes up part of a patriarchal costume of the Patriarch Konstantinos from Mesembria (?). The information about the provenance of patriarch Constantine from Mesembria is problematic. Actually, Constantine V was Patriarch of Constantinople from 2.4.1897 until 27. 3. 1901, cf. M. I. GEDEON, Πατριαρχικοί Πίνακες, Athens 1996, 777. As far as I know (cf. Θρησκευτική και Ηθική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια, 7, col. 1246), Constantine V came from the island of Chios and not from Mesembria, as referenced in the above mentioned document.

<sup>2</sup> G. SOTERIOU, Guide of the Byzantine Museum Athens. Athens 1931, 118, fig. 46.

<sup>3</sup> M. THEOCHARI, Εκκλησιαστικά χρυσοκέντητα. Athens 1986, fig. 2.

<sup>4</sup> On the etymology of the word *sakkos* as a sacerdotal garment see: E. PILTZ, Trois sakkoi byzantins. Analyse iconographique (*Acta Universitatis Upsalensis, Figura, Nova series* 17). Uppsala 1967, 14, note 1; On the history of the garment see: M. THEOCHARI (as n. 3), 14–7; A. SUCROW, Griechische und russische Goldstickereien des Ikonen-Museums Recklinghausen (*Monographien des Ikonen-Museums Recklinghausen* 3). Recklinghausen 1995, 10–1.

<sup>5</sup> N. GHIOLES, Τα αυτοκρατορικά βυζαντινά διάσημα, in: Το Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμένη, exhibition catalogue. Athens 2001, 65.

<sup>6</sup> In Russia the *sakkos* has been in use as an episcopal garment by the 18<sup>th</sup> century see, A. PAPAS, Liturgische Gewänder. *RBK V* (1995) 741–75, 753–8; SUCROW (see n. 4), 10–11.

<sup>7</sup> E. TRENKLE, Liturgische Geräte und Gewänder der Ostkirche. Munich 1962, chapt. *Sakkos*; PAPAS (as n. 6), 759.

The iconography of the scene goes back to themes crystallized in Cretan painting during the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup> (pl. 33b, fig. 2). It is a liturgical theme of eucharistic character. It refers to the mystical body of the Church, whose head is Christ. The meaning of the vine as the Church can be understood in the prayer of the high priest when he appears in the Bema door invoking God's providence for the vine he has planted<sup>9</sup> (i.e. for the *Ecclesia* he has instituted). The liturgical character of the composition is pointed out by the presence of a Seraph, on a higher point of the main axis, holding rhipidia and an open scroll with an inscription connected with the gospels of Mark 14' 25, Luke 22' 18, Math. 26' 29: "*Truly, I say to you, I shall not drink again of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God*" (Mark 14, 25)<sup>10</sup>. Thus, I think, the eucharistic meaning of the composition becomes clear.

The theme of Christ the Vine does occur on the front of such a sakkos during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, as can be observed also on the sakkos of the archbishop of Sinai, Cyril the Cretan<sup>11</sup> (pl. 34, figs. 1, 2).

In the upper part of the sakkos, on the right and on the left sleeve, we can see the two participants in the Annunciation (pl. 33a, fig. 1). Archangel Gabriel with open wings and with hasty steps, tends his right hand towards the Virgin Mary. In his left hand he is holding the sceptre. On the other side, the Mother of God is standing in three quarter view in front of the throne, and she is accepting the angel's greeting. She moves her right hand out of her *maphorion* and she is holding the spindle with the left. On her side, there is a wooden reading stand with an open book.

The poses and gestures of Mary and Gabriel derive from Byzantine iconography, and can be encountered later in Post-byzantine art. We can see this on a bema-door from Patmos<sup>12</sup> as well as on a bema door of the Cretan school in the Byzantine and Christian Museum,<sup>13</sup> which can be dated to the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (pl. 34, fig. 3). It is interesting, that in the same place as that of the column with the pot of flowers as seen on the Cretan bema door, there is a column with a book, in the Annunciation on the sakkos. In a previous study I have shown that the column is an Incarnation symbol, very deep rooted within the Byzantine art tradition<sup>14</sup>. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the book as an attribute of the Mother of God in the Annunciation scene, derives from the Byzantine tradition<sup>15</sup>, as well. The interpretation of this element is connected with the iconography of the 9<sup>th</sup> Ode, sung by the Virgin Mary after the Annunciation, and after the Visitation to Elisabeth. Eventually, the book was passed across from the scene of the Ode to the scene of the Annunciation in Western and in Post-Byzantine art.

On the back of the sakkos (pl. 33a, fig. 2), the enthroned Virgin is the dominating figure. Over her head is represented a Cherub holding *rhipidia* (pl. 34, fig. 4), and lower down on both sides of her head, and smaller in scale, we can see the busts of two angels in medallions. The inscription refers to *Maria the Lady of the Angels* (ΜΑΡΙΑ ΚΥΡΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΓΕΛΩΝ) and to the *Mother of God* (ΜΡ ΘΥ). Sixteen prophets and two saints, and John Damascene (characterized by his hat) and probably Kosmas Maiouma, who has written hymns to the Virgin, shown as busts enclosed in branches, flank the central figure. They are holding open scrolls with inscriptions that relate to the Incarnation. Below, at a central point, we can see the bicephalous eagle (pl. 35, fig. 1), which becomes a symbol of the ecumenical patriarchate, after the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans.

The iconography of the Virgin surrounded by prophets goes back to a 12<sup>th</sup> century representation on a well known Constantinopolitan icon of Sinai<sup>16</sup> and in creations of a later period, as for example, on an icon

<sup>8</sup> Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art, exhibition catalogue. Athens 1985, nos 10, 101, 122 sq.

<sup>9</sup> "Κύριε, Κύριε, ἐπίβλεψον ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἰδὲ καὶ ἐπίσκεψαι τὴν ἄμπελον ταύτην καὶ κατάρτισαι αὐτήν, ἣν ἐφύτευσεν ἡ δεξιὰ σου" (Ps 79' 15).

<sup>10</sup> Literally, in Greek the inscription reads: "Ὁ Χριστός, ἡ ἀλήθεια, ἔφησ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις· ἄρτι οὐ μὴ πῖω ἐκ τῆς ἀμπέλου πῶμα, ἀλλ' ἕως ἂν πῖω αὐτὸ καινὸν ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρός μου μεθ' ὑμῶν τῶν κληρονομούντων".

<sup>11</sup> M. THEOCHARI, Gold Embroidered Sacerdotal Vestments. In: K. MANAFIS (ed.), Sinai. Treasures of the Monastery. Athens 1990, 237, fig. 24.

<sup>12</sup> M. CHATZIDAKIS, Icons of Patmos. Questions of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Painting. Athens 1985, no. 11, 61 ff., pls. 80 and 81.

<sup>13</sup> Ch. BALTOYANNIS, Παράσταση Ευαγγελισμού κάτω από νεώτερη επιζωγράφηση στο βημόθυρο Τ. 737 του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου. *Archaiologika Analekta ek Athenon* XVIII (1984) 43–72.

<sup>14</sup> H. PAPASTAVROU, Le symbolisme de la colonne dans la scène de l'Annonciation. *DChAE* IV 15 (1989–90) 145–60.

<sup>15</sup> H. PAPASTAVROU, L'idée de l'*Ecclesia* et la scène de l'Annonciation: Quelques aspects. *DChAE* IV 21 (2000) 227–40.

<sup>16</sup> D. MOURIKI, Icons from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 15<sup>th</sup> century, in: Sinai (as in note 11) 105, fig 19.



of the 15<sup>th</sup> century in the National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin<sup>17</sup>. According to the Hermeneia of Dionysios of Fourni<sup>18</sup> this theme is called “The Prophets High” and it has received this name from the starting verse of a hymn to the Mother of God. It is about a representation with very dense theological meaning in relation to the Incarnation. The presence of the Prophets indicates the Era before the Grace and announces the Resolution through the mission of the Theotokos. Because of Her contribution, all human beings have the possibility of consanguinity with God. This can only be understood, through the experience of the holy sacraments, by the faithful. In this sense, very soon the theologians have seen in the person of the Virgin the Salvation and the prefiguration of the Church<sup>19</sup>.

In the embroidery composition, Maria is represented in a frontal position holding the Child to her body, a Byzantine composition favoured in Cretan art. Her throne and footstool shown in perspective render this representation very similar to those on icons of the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>20</sup> (pl. 35, fig. 2). Our composition is also related to Cretan pictorial tradition with regard to another feature. The branches around the busts connect our composition with a related theme, the Tree of Jesse<sup>21</sup>. Here again, the major role of the Virgin in the Incarnation is pointed out by persons of the Era before that of Grace, who are typifying her. As Michael Taylor has already pointed out, the Tree of Jesse has an eucharistic connotation. It is a common theme in Post- Byzantine art occurring also on garments. It is found on the back of the sakkos of Cyril the Cretan, of the 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>22</sup> (pl. 34, fig. 2). Another sakkos bearing the same theme on the back is found in the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople and it can be dated to the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>23</sup>.

The above mentioned iconographical study of the Byzantine and Christian Museum sakkos suggests that it can be dated to the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

The whole iconographical decoration of the garment is coherent. The basic doctrines of Christian faith are elucidated by an iconological relationship between themes. In the Annunciation, is affected the union of the human race with God. Whereas the figures of the Old Testament typify the Incarnation, the Virgin Mary, and the Institution of the Church, Christ the Vine recalls the eschatological triumph of the Church. Thus, in this program, the beginning and the end of the divine Economy is highlighted through the accentuation of the sacramental life of the Church. The richness of the decoration as well as its dogmatic meaning are rooted in Byzantine pictorial tradition. It is worth recalling, for instance, three very well known Byzantine sakkoi. At first, let us pay attention to the Vatican sakkos of the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>24</sup>. On the front side, is Christ Emmanuel surrounded by the triumphant church of the righteous. Juxtaposed, on its reverse is the Transfiguration of the Saviour, which emphasizes his divine nature. On the sleeves, the Communion of the Apostles accentuates the fact that the eucharistic theme, which presupposes the Incarnation, is a necessary presumption for the Salvation.

Secondly, the soteriological character of the Divine Economy is also stressed on two other sakkoi of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>25</sup>. I refer, at first, to the greater sakkos of Photios, bishop of Kiev, which not only shows the whole programme of a church decoration, but which also bears the *Credo* in an inscription (second decade of the century). Then, the smaller sakkos of Photius (thought to be Russian work) shows religious feasts.

The decoration of the 17<sup>th</sup> century sakkos of the Byzantine and Christian Museum does not repeat mechanically the Byzantine iconography. New themes created in part during the Post-Byzantine period are

<sup>17</sup> D. and T. TALBOT RICE, *Icons*, The Natasha Allen Collection. Dublin 1968, 13–8; D. MOURIKI, Αἱ βιβλικαὶ προεικονίσεις τῆς Θεοτόκου εἰς τὸν τροῦλλον τῆς Περιβλέπτου τοῦ Μυστρᾶ. *AD* 25 (1970) 217–51.

<sup>18</sup> A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS (ed.), Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνᾶ, Ερμηνεία της ζωγραφικῆς τέχνης. St Petersburg 1909, 146.

<sup>19</sup> H. PAPASTAVROU, La scène initiale de l’Incarnation à Byzance et dans l’art occidentale à la fin du moyen âge. Thèse de l’Université de Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne 1992–93, *passim*.

<sup>20</sup> Icon of the Virgin enthroned from Kephallonia, Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art (see above note 4) no 148; icon from Paros, Th. ALIPRANTIS, Εἰκόνες της Πάρου, Εκκλησιαστικό Μουσείο Μαρπήσης. Paros 1999, no 8 and 12. Εἰκόνες της Κρητικῆς Τέχνης. Από τον Χάνδακα ως την Μόσχα και την Αγία Πετρούπολη. Exhibition Catalogue. Herakleio 1993, no 90.

<sup>21</sup> *Ερμηνεία* (as in note 18) 84. M. D. TAYLOR, A Historiated Tree of Jesse. *DOP* 34–35 (1980–1981) 125–76.

<sup>22</sup> THEOCHARI, Sacerdotal Vestments (see above note 11), fig. 25.

<sup>23</sup> Το Οικουμενικό Πατριαρχείο. Η Μεγάλη του Χριστού Εκκλησία, Editor A. PALIOURAS, 112, Fig. 99.

<sup>24</sup> G. MILLET, La dalmatique du Vatican. Paris 1945; P. JOHNSTONE, The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery. London 1967, 15 and 94–7, pl. 1–6; PILTZ, Trois sakkoi (see above note 4), 27 ff. and 58 ff.

<sup>25</sup> On these two sakkoi see, PILTZ, Trois sakkoi (see above note 4), *passim*.



combined in such a way as to render the same theological message as that which appears on the Byzantine sakkoi. Our sakkos is an important sample among ecclesiastic garments of the Post-Byzantine period, which reveals the importance of its owner, and probably also the significance of the occasion on which it was made.

In the period we refer to, the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the doctrine of the Incarnation, with emphasis upon the eucharistic theme, acquires a special importance during theological discussions amongst Orthodox, Latins, and Protestants in Constantinople. The writings of George Koresios (ca 1566–1659), a central figure among the Orthodox theologians of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, refer mostly to the discussions between the author and the Calvinist Antoine Léger. The core of these discussions is of course the doctrine about sacraments and particularly about the Transubstantiation of the species, the bread and the wine, during the Mass<sup>26</sup>.

This historical context created the conditions for the appearance of new themes with special eucharistic meaning. I evoke above all the Allegory of the Eucharist (pl. 35, fig. 3), which appears in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>27</sup>. On the other hand, the eucharistic symbolism may be emphasized within the theme of the Nativity, as we can see in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Nativity icon Inv. no T 396 of the Byzantine and Christian Museum<sup>28</sup> (pl. 35, fig. 4). (I refer to the two angels each holding bread over the new born Christ child). This icon bears the date 1638, the year during which a synod in Constantinople had condemned the Calvinist *Confessio fidei* of the patriarche Cyril Loukaris<sup>29</sup>. I think that the iconographic program of our sakkos is inscribed in the same historical context.

In this study the main emphasis has been upon the iconography of the embroidered composition, which has led us to date the robe in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The visual impression that we receive from the technique of this embroidery is, that of a flat surface, which could also indicate the same date. The workshop of this piece was aware of the pictorial creations of the time, and especially of that of the Cretan school of painting. George Soteriou had arbitrarily suggested its creation in a workshop in the region of Epiros<sup>30</sup>. Of course, the high artistic quality of the sakkos corresponds to a big center of embroidery production such as, for instance, Constantinople. Also the fact that, most probably, it belonged to a personality who had previously served as Patriarch of Constantinople, indicates its creation in that centre. On the other hand, we cannot ignore the fact that the place from which the garment came, is Eastern Romylia, from where a series of different ecclesiastical garments came to the Byzantine and Christian Museum. I mention an omophorion, a bishop's garment, which bears an inscription of dedication to Virgin Mary of Backovo, 1757 (ΑΨΝΖ). I also know of an epitrachilion of the Bishop of Varna, and an epigonation of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

We know that in the same region, in centres like Varna or Philippopolis, icon- and metal-workshops were flourishing during the Post-Byzantine period. This fact might suggest that we should also extend our investigation to cover possibility of the existence of embroidery workshops in Eastern Romylia.

<sup>26</sup> G. PODSKALSKY, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft 1453–1821*. Munich 1988, 179–87.

<sup>27</sup> P. VOCOTOPOULOS, *Εικόνες της Κέρκυρας*. Athens 1990, 59–61, N° 39, figs. 40, 148–50.

<sup>28</sup> H. PAPASTAVROU, L'icone de la Nativité No T396 des Collections du Musée Byzantin à Athènes. *Cahiers Balkaniques* 27 (1997) 93–104.

<sup>29</sup> See PODSKALSKY, *Theologie* (as n. 26) 187.

<sup>30</sup> See above, note 2.

MARIA G. PARANI

## Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography\*

(with plates 36–37)

The figurative art of mediaeval Byzantium that has survived to the present day is predominantly religious in content. It illustrates the biblical narrative and the lives of saints and depicts the Byzantine vision of the Kingdom of God. The aim of Byzantine religious art was to instruct the beholder in the divine mysteries and the eternal truths of Orthodox Christianity and to edify him or her by portraying paradigms of Christian virtue worthy of imitation. More importantly, religious images were meant to serve as vehicles through which the faithful could communicate with the spiritual world, with Christ, the Virgin, and the saints.

It is commonly acknowledged that Byzantine religious art was indifferent to the representation of its contemporary reality. The Byzantine perception that a religious image should constitute an objective reflection of its sacred archetype in heaven promoted the standardization of artistic expression and favoured the repetition of established iconographic types, most of which can be traced back to the art of Late Antiquity<sup>1</sup>. The faithful representation of the surrounding material world had to be avoided since it would have resulted in images too specific in terms of time and space. Such specificity would have compromised the timelessness and the universality of the message of a religious image<sup>2</sup>. Yet, the trappings of the material world were a necessary component of religious iconography since they enabled its creators to dress the spiritual in visual form and thus make it accessible to the viewer. Whether as a result of purposeful or unreflective processes, contemporary artefacts (*realia*) were reflected in Byzantine religious art. Therefore, though it would be unwise to regard this art as illustrating everyday life in mediaeval Byzantium, it would be equally unwise to dismiss it off-handedly as a possible source of information on Byzantine material culture supplementing other archaeological and textual evidence.

My aim in what follows is to highlight the potential of using religious figurative art as an additional source of information on secular material culture during the Middle and Late Byzantine periods<sup>3</sup>. This I hope to achieve through the discussion of a series of case-studies, which have been arranged according to the nature of the information they provide. This information concerns: firstly, the typology and usage of secular artefacts; secondly, foreign influences on Byzantine material culture; thirdly, regional diversification; fourthly, topical concerns of Byzantine society which may be detected behind the iconography of certain compositions, and, finally, Byzantine attitudes towards the material world and its representation. During the discussion I will try to draw attention to the limitations inherent in using Byzantine religious art as a source of information in an “archaeological” investigation. These limitations stem mainly from the conservative and formulaic character of religious iconography and it is important to keep them in mind if the conclusions drawn are to have any validity.

\* I would like to express my thanks to Prof. Sharon Gerstel for her willing advice on various aspects of this study.

<sup>1</sup> On the precepts of Byzantine icon theory see, selectively, *Iconoclasm*, eds. A. BRYER – J. HERRIN, Birmingham 1977; A. GRABAR, *L'iconoclisme byzantin: le dossier archéologique*, Paris 1984; L. BRUBAKER, *Byzantine Art in the Ninth Century: Theory, Practice and Culture*, *BMGS* 13 (1989) 23–93; G. DAGRON, *Holy Images and Likeness*, *DOP* 45 (1991) 23–33; K. PARRY, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries*, Leiden – New York – Cologne 1996.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. O. DEMUS, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, London 1948, 6–7; H. MAGUIRE, *The Icons of Their Bodies. Saints and Their Images in Byzantium*, Princeton 1996, 47.

<sup>3</sup> The following discussion is based largely on the findings of my doctoral dissertation. In it, I explore the potential of using the artistic evidence in the study of Byzantine material culture more fully, see M. PARANI, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th Centuries)* (*The Medieval Mediterranean* 41), Leiden 2003.

## QUESTIONS OF METHODOLOGY

The first question to ask is how to identify a contemporary artefact in art amidst the multitude of conventional types constantly reproduced as an integral part of established iconographic formulae, especially when there are no extant Byzantine examples to facilitate identification by comparison<sup>4</sup>. The first step is to search for innovations, that is, for iconographical types not encountered in artistic contexts earlier than the monument investigated. Such innovations could have been due to a mistake or a misunderstanding of an artistic model, to the imagination of the artist, or to the fact that he has actually reproduced a contemporary artefact. It is reasonable to assume that pictorial innovations encountered in a number of roughly contemporaneous monuments known to have been created independently from one another were not due to a mistake or the imagination of an individual artist, but had become current in the artistic vocabulary of the period in question. In order to decide whether they actually reflected a contemporary artefact it is necessary to consider the iconographic context, the quality and the amount of detail in the rendering of the artefact, and whether the represented object gives the impression that it could have been functional. These same controls can also be applied in the case of pictorial innovations that occur in artistic contexts only once. Comparisons with extant artefacts from areas beyond the frontiers of the empire but within its sphere of cultural influence, the careful use of ethnographic material in the case of functional objects that were slow to develop typologically, as, for example, agricultural implements<sup>5</sup>, and a consideration of the written evidence can help decide the matter in each case.

To illustrate this methodological approach let us consider the miniature depicting the Birth of St John the Baptist in the gospel-book Vat. urb. gr. 2, fol. 167v (circa 1125) (pl. 36, fig. 1). It is generally assumed that Vat. urb. gr. 2 was intended for imperial usage as it contains a double portrait of emperor John II Komnenos and his son and heir Alexios<sup>6</sup>. To the lower right of the Birth of Saint John the unknown artist has depicted an elaborate brazier with three feet terminating in lion's paws and two handles shaped like lion-heads with rings suspended from the mouth. The brazier is surmounted by a tripod on which a vessel would have been balanced<sup>7</sup>. The representation of the brazier is unique both in terms of the typology of the object itself and its inclusion in the iconographic context of a birth-of-a-saint scene. Water-heaters on a stand and cooking pots on tripods or braziers were a common enough feature of representations of banquets and picnics in Late

<sup>4</sup> In devising the methodology for identifying representations of contemporary artefacts in pictorial contexts I was greatly aided by the work of M. O. H. CARVER, *Contemporary Artefacts Illustrated in Late Saxon Manuscripts*. *Archaeologia* 108 (1986) 117–45. Methodological questions involved in using the artistic evidence in the study of Byzantine everyday life, arising mainly from the possible imitation and/or adaptation of earlier artistic models by Byzantine artists, have been addressed, among others, by I. SPATHARAKIS, *Observations on a Few Illuminations in Ps.-Oppians Cynegetica Ms. at Venice*. *Thesaurismata* 17 (1980) 22–35; A. BRYER, *Byzantine Agricultural Implements: The Evidence of Medieval Illustrations of Hesiod's Works and Days*. *ABSA* 81 (1986) esp. 50–66.

<sup>5</sup> BRYER, *Implements*, 48, 49.

<sup>6</sup> I. SPATHARAKIS, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*. Leiden 1976, 79–83, fig. 46; *The Glory of Byzantium. Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261*, eds. H. C. EVANS – W. D. WIXOM. New York 1997, no. 144; J. LOWDEN, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*. London 1997, 361–3, fig. 221; *To Βυζάντιο ως Οικουμένη*, eds. M. EUANGELATOU – E. PAPASTAUROU – T.-P. SKOTTE. Athens 2001, no. 17. In addition to the imperial portrait, there are eight other miniatures in the manuscript arranged in four pairs at the beginning of each of the four Gospels: the Nativity and Saint Matthew; the Baptism and Saint Mark; the Birth of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Luke; and the Descent into Hell and Saint John, see C. STORNAJOLO, *Miniature delle omilie di Giacomo Monaco* (cod. Vatic. gr. 1162) e dell' *evangelario greco urbinense* (cod. Vatic. gr. urbin. 2). Rome 1910, pls. 84–91. The prominence attributed to Saint John the Baptist in the iconographic scheme of the codex (apart from the scene of his birth and the Baptism, he also appears in the Descent into Hell) provides further support to the suggested association of the manuscript with the person of the emperor John II, who could have been either its donor or its intended recipient.

<sup>7</sup> References to braziers of various sizes are found in a number of eleventh- and twelfth-century texts. Interestingly enough, the braziers are mentioned as part of the equipment prescribed for hospitals or hospices and were to be used for cooking as well as for keeping the guests warm, see A. I. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Noctes Petropolitanae*. *Zbornik vizantijskih tekstov*, XII–XIII vekov. St. Petersburg 1913, 74; P. GAUTIER, *Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator*. *REB* 32 (1974) 99; *idem*, *Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis*. *REB* 40 (1982) 87; *idem*, *Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos*. *REB* 42 (1984) 113. References to cooking tripods can also be found in Middle Byzantine sources, see, for example, F. MIKLOSICH – J. MÜLLER, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, VI. Vienna 1890, 243. For a thirteenth-century iron cooking tripod recovered from the Frankish layers at Sparta see *Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο*, (ed. D. PAPANIKOLA-MPAKIRTZE). Athens 2002, no. 402. Such tripods would have been used in association with the ceramic cooking vessels with the rounded bottom that were in use in the empire from the tenth down to the fourteenth centuries, see Ch. MPAKIRTZES, *Βυζαντινά τσουκαλόαγγα*. Athens 1989, 39–40, 41.

Antique art and in Middle Byzantine dining scenes imitating Early Byzantine models<sup>8</sup>. However, they did not constitute part of the iconography of the Late Antique mythological cycles illustrating the birth and childhood of gods and heroes that had served as sources of inspiration for Byzantine birth-of-a-saint scenes<sup>9</sup>. Therefore, the introduction of the brazier into the twelfth-century miniature under investigation may be understood as a realistic touch on the part of the painter: it alludes to the heating of the water needed for the labour and the bathing of a newborn child. That the water for the newborn's bath was indeed hot is indicated in this image also by the fact that the young woman pouring it is represented holding the jug with one hand covered by a towel. As for the typology of the brazier, furniture with animal-shaped supports, quite popular during Classical, Roman, and Late Antiquity, was also employed in mediaeval Byzantium as suggested by finds of zoomorphic metal fittings in the mediaeval contexts at Corinth<sup>10</sup>. It is, thus, reasonable to assume that here we are faced with a representation of a contemporary artefact.

Equally interesting from our particular point of view is the representation of the cradle in the same miniature. In contrast to the brazier, the cradle constituted a common feature of birth-of-a-saint scenes from the eleventh century onward. Borrowed from the Late Antique biographical cycles mentioned above, it served as a picturesque detail conveying the atmosphere of activity that accompanied the birth of a child<sup>11</sup>. It is tempting to think that this borrowing from Late Antique art was prompted by the Middle Byzantine festive ceremonies associated with the birth of a male child to the emperor. During these ceremonies the newborn was displayed to the members of the court in its cradle<sup>12</sup>. It is worth noting in this respect that the presence of visiting women bearing gifts to the mother in birth-of-a-saint scenes has also been associated with these same court rituals<sup>13</sup>. Notwithstanding the ultimate antique derivation of the cradle-theme, the outlook of the cradle in the twelfth-century miniature here under discussion was apparently updated to reflect current Middle Byzantine woodcarving styles. As attested by extant examples of mainly ecclesiastical furniture dated to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, minuscule arcades, balusters, and knobs were a popular feature of woodcarving in the Balkans during the Middle Ages<sup>14</sup>. The twelfth-century representation could indicate that this woodcarving style was practiced already in the Middle Byzantine period, even though preserved examples

<sup>8</sup> For a survey of Early Byzantine representations of dining scenes incorporating such objects see M. D. DUNBABIN, *Wine and Water at the Roman Convivium*. *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6 (1993) 129–40. Water-heaters on a stand and cooking pots on a tripod or a brazier can be seen in a number of meal scenes in the gospel-book Par. gr. 74 (Constantinople, Monastery of Studios, second half of eleventh century) see H. OMONT, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Reproduction des 361 miniatures du manuscrit Grec 74 de la Bibliothèque nationale, I–II. Paris 1909, pls. 25, 42, 61, 69, 82, 117, 126, 133, 166, 167. The inclusion of such picturesque details even in the iconographic context of the Last Supper (*ibidem*, pls. 133, 167) where they are obviously inappropriate, suggests that in the case of these representations we are faced rather with the mechanical repetition of an iconographic formula and not with a conscious depiction of eleventh-century dining practices. For a representation of a water-heater in a late eleventh-century illuminated Book of Job of possible Constantinopolitan origin see K. WEITZMANN – G. GALAVARIS, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Illuminated Greek Manuscripts, I: From the Ninth to the Twelfth Century*. Princeton 1990, colour plate XVII:b, fig. 307 (Sinait. gr. 3, fol. 17v: Job's children at the banquet).

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, W. A. DASZEWSKI – D. MICHAELIDES, *Guide to the Paphos Mosaics*. Nicosia 1988, fig. 44 (the first bath of Achilles in the Villa of Theseus; fifth century) fig. 46 (scene from the childhood of Dionysus in the House of Aion; mid-fourth century). On the iconographic theme of the bath of the newborn and its introduction into the Birth of the Virgin and other birth-of-a-saint scenes see G. BABIĆ, *Sur l'iconographie de la composition "Nativité de la Vierge" dans la peinture byzantine*. *ZRVI* 7 (1961) 170–2; J. LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'empire byzantin et en occident*, I. Brussels 1964, 94–7; D. MOURIKI, *Περί Βυζαντινού κύκλου του βίου της Παναγίας εις φορητήν εικόνα της Μονής του Όρους Σινά*. *Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς* 1970, 131.

<sup>10</sup> G. R. DAVIDSON, *Corinth XII. The Minor Objects*. Princeton 1952, nos. 839, 840, 842, pl. 62.

<sup>11</sup> On the iconographic theme of the cradle and its origins see LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, *Iconographie de l'enfance*, 104; MOURIKI, *Περί Βυζαντινού κύκλου*, 131.

<sup>12</sup> *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. I. REISKE, I. Bonn 1829, 618–9. Cf. P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*. Cambridge 1993, 243, for a twelfth-century description of the cradle being prepared in the chamber of the Porphyra in the imperial palace in anticipation of the birth of a child to Manuel I Komnenos.

<sup>13</sup> BABIĆ, *Sur l'iconographie*, 174–5; LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, *Iconographie de l'enfance*, 97. It should be pointed out that the practice of bearing fortifying foodstuffs and gifts to a woman who had just given birth need not have been limited to the context of imperial ceremonial alone, but could have had a more widespread application, see Ph. KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινών Βίος και Πολιτισμός*, IV. Athens 1951, 31–2, 34–5.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, G. A. SOTERIOU, *La sculpture sur bois dans l'art byzantin*, in: *Mélanges Charles Diehl*, II. Paris 1930, 173–4, pl. XIV.2; V. HAN, *Srednjovekovni primerak nameštaja iz manastira Dečana*. *Muzej Primenjene Umetnosti. Zbornik* 14 (1970) 31–41; E. BAKALOVA *et alii*, *Trésors d'art médiéval bulgare, VII<sup>e</sup>–XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Berne 1988, no. 120.



suggest that it was during the Late Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods that it achieved its greatest popularity<sup>15</sup>. The practice of updating the appearance of artefact-types traditionally represented in religious iconography so that they reflected contemporary fashions and tastes was quite common throughout the history of Byzantine art and may be observed not only in the case of furniture and furnishings, but also in the case of dress, weapons, tableware, and writing implements<sup>16</sup>.

The second question that arises when using the artistic evidence in order to trace developments in Byzantine material culture is that of chronology. It is not always possible to estimate with confidence the time that elapsed between the appearance of a new type of artefact in real life and its first reflection in art. Certain fashionable items appear to have been introduced into religious iconography roughly at the same time as their adoption in real life. This, for example, seems to be the case of the dresses with the trumpet-shaped sleeves, which are attested for the first time in imperial portraiture around the middle of the eleventh century and which also appear in roughly contemporaneous religious iconographic contexts<sup>17</sup>. On the other hand, the representation of other categories of artefacts became fashionable only at a later stage in their development. It is interesting to note, for example, that despite the well-attested importance of archery in hunting and military tactics in the Middle Byzantine period representations of quivers and bows are encountered as part of the equipment of military saints only from the late thirteenth century onward<sup>18</sup>. This departure from the earlier iconographic tradition that wanted military saints armed only with spear and sword was perhaps brought about by artistic considerations, namely the pronounced predilection of Late Byzantine art for narrative detail<sup>19</sup>.

When using the artistic evidence to study aspects of material culture it is important to keep in mind that Byzantine art does not offer a complete inventory of the artefact-types in use in Byzantine lands at any given period. The choice of which artefacts were represented and which were not appears to have depended firstly, on the semiotic potential of the objects, secondly, on the availability of iconographic contexts suitable for their introduction, and, lastly, on the attitude of religious art towards the depiction of particular artefact-types, an attitude which could vary from one period to the next. The treatment of dining scenes in religious contexts provides an interesting case-study in this respect. In no way does the inventory of tableware represented in artistic contexts reflect the variety of such objects that were actually employed in Byzantium during

<sup>15</sup> The absence of finds of furniture with turned elements from Middle Byzantine archaeological contexts may be due to accidents of survival. Cf. finds of balusters employed for the decoration of wooden furniture from Early Byzantine sites in Egypt, where environmental conditions are favourable to the preservation of wood, M.-H. RUTSCHOWSCAYA, *Catalogue des bois de l'Égypte copte*. Musée du Louvre. Paris 1986, 95–7 (nos. 318–35).

<sup>16</sup> K. WEITZMANN, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex. A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*. Princeton 1970, 157–60; PARANI, *Reconstructing, passim*.

<sup>17</sup> Compare, for example, OMONT, *Évangiles*, pl. 69; E. DE WALD, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint. III. Psalms and Odes. Part 2: Vaticanus Graecus 752*. Princeton – London – The Hague 1942, pls. XXX, LIII, LIV, with G. ZACOS – A. VEGGLERY, *Byzantine Lead Seals, I*. Basel – Berne 1972, nos. 92, 93a–d [p. 82–4, pl. 24]; P. GRIERSON, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and the Whittemore Collection, III/2*. Washington, D.C. 1973, pl. LXV [Romanos IV, nos. 1.2, 2.1].

<sup>18</sup> For the importance of archery in the Middle Byzantine army see, indicatively, *Sylloge Tacticorum, quae olim Inedita Leonis Tactica dicebatur*, ed. A. DAIN. Paris 1938, § 39; E. McGEER, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century (DOS 33)*. Washington, D.C. 1995, 14, 36, 38, 90, 207–8; John Kinnamos, *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Manuele Comnenis gestarum*, ed. A. MEINEKE. Bonn 1836, 125. For portrayals of military saints armed with bows and quivers see G. MILLET – A. FROLOW, *La peinture du Moyen Âge en Yougoslavie, Fasc. III*. Paris 1962, pl. 17.2; KALLINIKOS (monachos), *Η τεχνική της αγιογραφίας. Με παράρτημα τοιχογραφιών του Πανσέληνου από το Πρωτάτο του Αγίου Όρους*. Nicosia 1996, pls. 67, 70, 91; C. STEPHAN, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble: Die Mosaiken und Fresken der Apostelkirche zu Thessaloniki*. Baden-Baden 1986, fig. 100; M. CHATZIDAKIS, *Mistra. La cité médiévale et la forteresse. Guide*. Athens 1987, fig. 56.

<sup>19</sup> Elizabeth ZACHARIADOU in her study of a Late Byzantine steatite icon of Saint Demetrios now at the Louvre considers the attribution of a bow and three arrows to the saint as a result of the influence of Turko-mongol traditions on Byzantine practices. According to these traditions, the bow and the arrow were symbols of sovereignty. The Turko-mongol mercenaries and the christianised Turks serving in the Late Byzantine army may have acted as the vehicle through which this conception of the bow and arrow infiltrated Byzantium. It is perhaps because of their symbolic significance that the bow and arrows were considered worthy to be included among the equipment of a military saint. E. ZACHARIADOU, *Les nouvelles armes de saint Dèmètrius*, in: *Εὐφροσύνη. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler, I–II (Byzantina Sorbonensia 16)*. Paris 1998, II 689–93.



the Middle and Late Byzantine periods<sup>20</sup>. Down to the eleventh century, a great bowl, accompanied sometimes by two goblets arranged symmetrically on the table, a small number of knives and, rarely, forks, as well as some pieces of bread on the table, were considered adequate to invoke the impression that a meal was taking place<sup>21</sup>. By the end of the eleventh century, however, the repertoire of the represented tableware began to expand, with the representation of ceramic and glass bottles, glass beakers and goblets, and bowls with lids<sup>22</sup>. The tendency to expand the inventory of tableware was intensified in the Late Byzantine period, accompanied by a parallel diversification of the types of foodstuffs represented on the table. In fact, in certain representations of dining scenes dated to the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries the artists managed to convey the impression of veritable feasts with richly set tables, attendants carrying more food and drink, and guests eating, drinking, and conversing<sup>23</sup>. Such a dramatic change in the artistic treatment of dining scenes, which, it should be pointed out, did not serve any obvious iconographic necessity, indicates that a change in attitude towards their representation had taken place. It is interesting to note that during the twelfth century, when the inventory of serving utensils in dining scenes began to expand, a notable increase in expressing an interest in the quality and variety of foodstuffs is observable in contemporary literary works like the writings of Eustathios of Thessalonica and the poems of Ptochoprodromos<sup>24</sup>.

Once an artefact-type was introduced, for whatever reason, into the pictorial vocabulary of Byzantine art it would often continue to be represented long after it had become obsolete in real life. This is especially true of artefacts that had become an integral component of an established iconographic theme. The depiction of imperial dress in religious iconography is an interesting case in point. Byzantine imperial garments and insignia were consistently, if anachronistically, employed in Byzantine religious art as marks of sovereignty in the portrayal of rulers, both biblical and non-biblical. Already in the Early Byzantine period, the prophet-kings David and Solomon, to mention those most commonly portrayed, were represented in the purple imperial *chlamys*, the stately mantle that was, as a rule, fastened at the right shoulder<sup>25</sup>. They continued to be similarly portrayed in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, especially in the iconographic context of the Descent

<sup>20</sup> These are well-attested in the written and the archaeological records, see, for example, J. F. HALDON, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions (CFHB 28)*. Vienna 1990, 106, 108, 112; Actes de Saint Pantéléémon, eds. P. LEMERLE – G. DAGRON – S. ĆIRKOVIĆ (*Archives de l'Athos* 12). Paris 1982, 75 (inventory of the Monastery of Xylourgou, 1142); Actes de Xéropotamou, ed. J. BOMPAIRE (*Archives de l'Athos* 3). Paris 1964, 80 (will of Theodore Skaranos, 1270–1274); Actes de Vatopédi, I, eds. J. BOMPAIRE – J. LEFORT – V. KRAVARI – C. GIROS (*Archives de l'Athos* 21). Paris 2001, 357 (will of Theodore Sarantenos, 1325); DAVIDSON, *Corinth XII*, nos. 540–1, 543–5, 556, 559, 685–749, 759–65, 769–84, 790–800, 803–15, 1405–9, 1411–3, pls. 50–2, 56–60, 85; C.S. LIGHTFOOT *et alii*, *The Amorium Project: The 1997 Study Season. DOP 53* (1997) 341–2, 343, figs. H, I; C. H. MORGAN, *Corinth XI. The Byzantine Pottery*. Cambridge, MA 1942; D. PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZI, *Byzantine Glazed Ceramics. The Art of Sgraffito*. Athens 1999; D. PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZI – F. MAVRIKIOU – Ch. BAKIRTZIS, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery in the Benaki Museum*. Athens 1999; Καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο, nos. 355–79.

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, A. WHARTON-EPSTEIN, *Tokali Kilise. Tenth-century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia*. Washington, D.C. 1986, figs. 27, 34; N. CHATZIDAKIS, *Hosios Loukas*. Athens 1997, fig. 79; M. RESTLE, *Byzantine Wall-painting in Asia Minor, I–III*. Recklinghausen 1967, II, fig. 235. For an alternative opinion, maintaining that these representations have a general historical accuracy see J. VROOM, *Byzantine Garlic and Turkish Delight. Dining Habits and Cultural Change in Central Greece from Byzantine to Ottoman Times. Archaeological Dialogues 7/2* (2000) 206–7. Though it is quite probable that the dining habits of the Byzantines during the eleventh century involved eating from a large communal plate, I am sceptical as to whether representations of meals in eleventh-century artistic contexts may be used as corroborative evidence to prove it. As far as Last Supper representations are concerned, the theme of a single large plate in the middle of the table, often containing one or two fish, can be traced back to Late Antiquity, see, indicatively, F. W. DEICHMANN, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*. Wiesbaden 1995, pls. 180–1. Here I take the opportunity to thank Dr. Joanita VROOM for kindly providing me with a copy of her article.

<sup>22</sup> See, for example, T. VELMANS, *Le tétraévangile de la Laurentienne*. Florence, Laur. VI. 23. Paris 1971, figs. 240, 289.

<sup>23</sup> See, for example, A. TSITOURIDOU, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού στη Θεσσαλονίκη. Συμβολή στη μελέτη της Παλαιολόγειας ζωγραφικής κατά τον πρώιμο 14ο αιώνα*. Thessalonica 1986, pl. 50; E. TSIGARIDAS, *The Mosaics and the Byzantine Wall-paintings, in The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi. Tradition – History – Art, I*. Mount Athos 1998, fig. 231; *The City of Mystras*, acad. supervision P. KALAMARA – A. MEXIA. Athens 2001, fig. 109; V. DJURIĆ, *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien*. Munich 1976, figs. 48, 115.

<sup>24</sup> A. KAZHDAN – A. WHARTON-EPSTEIN, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the 11th and the 12th Centuries (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage 7)*. Berkeley 1985, 80–82; H. EIDENEIER, *Ptochoprodromos. Einführung, kritische Ausgabe, deutsche Übersetzung, Glossar (Neograeca Medii Aevi 5)*. Cologne 1991.

<sup>25</sup> See, for example, G. CAVALLO *et alii*, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis, Commentarium*. Rome 1987, pl. XXIV.32; A. GRABAR, *Les peintures de l'évangéliste de Sinope*. Geneva 1953, pls. I–V.

into Hell<sup>26</sup>, and this, despite the fact that in Palaeologan times the *chlamys* no longer constituted part of the imperial wardrobe<sup>27</sup>.

### QUESTIONS OF ARTEFACT TYPOLOGY AND FUNCTION

Despite the methodological problems and limitations just outlined, the typological study of various artefact-categories for which there is otherwise little physical evidence can benefit from the careful examination of pictorial contexts<sup>28</sup>. The artistic evidence can be most useful in the study of dress, whether this is imperial, official, aristocratic, or pertaining to the common people<sup>29</sup>. The marble inlay icon of Saint Eudokia from the Monastery of Lips in Constantinople (907), to mention one example, provides the earliest evidence we have for the change in the design of the female imperial *loros*, the long bejeweled scarf which Byzantine empresses wore wound around their bodies on specific ceremonial occasions<sup>30</sup>. To mention a second example, the depiction of a tunic with exceedingly long narrow sleeves worn by the attendant to the ruler in the miniature illustrating the Martyrdom of Saint Artemios in the eleventh-century Menologium Esphigmenou 14, fol. 90v, may be taken as an indication that, by that time, Byzantine courtiers had adopted this garment of ultimate oriental origin<sup>31</sup>. As one last example one may refer to certain Middle Byzantine representations of the Martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia, which provide interesting evidence on the design of Byzantine trousers at the time (pl. 36, fig. 2)<sup>32</sup>.

Another artefact-category the study of which can equally benefit from a perusal of the artistic evidence is that of arms and armour<sup>33</sup>. In the case of military dress, realistic elements can be found portrayed side-by-side with conventional and fanciful ones, thus creating a composite outfit that was never in use at any given period. Still, artistic representations may prove extremely informative in the study of individual components of military dress, such as garments worn over the cuirass, shields, swords, bows, and quivers<sup>34</sup>. As far as body-armour is concerned, its depiction in religious contexts was, as a rule, conventional and, on occasion, highly

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, CHATZIDAKIS, Hosios Loukas, fig. 20; D. MOURIKI, The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios, I–II. Athens 1985, pls. 48, 52; P. A. UNDERWOOD, The Kariye Djami, I–IV. New York–Princeton 1966–1975, pls. 341, 352; TSITOURIDOU, Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος, pl. 29.

<sup>27</sup> PARANI, Reconstructing 13–7.

<sup>28</sup> In addition to the artefact-categories briefly discussed in this section, that of Byzantine musical instruments may also profit from a systematic examination of representations in monumental and miniature religious painting, see F. DE MAFFEI, Gli strumenti musicali a Bisanzio, in: Da Bisanzio a San Marco. Musica e Liturgia, ed. G. CATTIN. Venice 1997, 61–110; G. GALAVARIS, Musical Images in Byzantine Art, in: Λιθόστρωτον. Studien zur byzantinischen Kunst und Geschichte. Festschrift für Marcell Restle. Stuttgart 2000, 79–91.

<sup>29</sup> A number of studies on Byzantine dress and, especially, on imperial costume and insignia make extensive use of the artistic evidence, see, indicatively, G. DE JERPHANION, Le “thorakion” caractéristique iconographique du onzième siècle, in: IDEM, La voix des monuments. Études d’archéologie. Nouvelle série. Rome–Paris 1938, 263–78; M. SOTERIOU, Το λεγόμενον θωράκιον της γυναικείας αυτοκρατορικής στολής. *EEBS* 23 (1953) 524–30; W. H. RUDT DE COLLEMBERG, Le “thorakion”. Recherches iconographiques. *MEFRA. Moyen Age – Temps Modernes* 83 (1971) 263–361; E. PILTZ, Middle Byzantine Court Costume, in: Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204, ed. H. MAGUIRE. Washington, D.C. 1997, 39–51; P. KALAMARA, Le système vestimentaire à Byzance du IV<sup>e</sup> jusqu’ à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Lille 1997. See, also, PARANI, Reconstructing, 11–100.

<sup>30</sup> PARANI, Reconstructing, 25–26. On the icon of Saint Eudokia see S. E. J. GERSTEL, Saint Eudokia and the Imperial Household of Leo VI. *The Art Bulletin* 79 (1997) 699–707.

<sup>31</sup> PARANI, Reconstructing, 55. On Esphigmenou 14, a manuscript of probable Constantinopolitan origin, see S. PELEKANIDES – P. CHRISTOU – Ch. TSIUMIS – S. KADAS, The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts, II. Athens 1975, 365–6.

<sup>32</sup> One should also mention the two tenth-century ivory panels of the Forty Martyrs, one in the Hermitage and one in Berlin, see Sinai, Byzantium, Russia: Orthodox Art from the Sixth to the Twentieth Century, eds. Y. PIATNITSKY *et alii*. London 2000, no. B44; A. EFFENBERGER – H.-G. SEVERIN, Das Museum für Spätantike und byzantinische Kunst. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Mainz 1992, no. 124.

<sup>33</sup> A discussion of portrayals of military saints is often introduced into studies of Byzantine military equipment, see, for example, T. KOLIAS, Byzantinische Waffen (BV 17). Vienna 1988; D. NICOLLE, Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era, 1050–1350, I–II. White Plains, NY 1988, 26–52; M. BARTUSIS, The Late Byzantine Army. Arms and Society, 1204–1453. Philadelphia 1992, 322–41.

<sup>34</sup> PARANI, Reconstructing, 118–21, 125–36, 141–2.

decorative. There are, nevertheless, examples of realistic representations of cuirasses, which can be demonstrated to reflect ceremonial armour as well as armour worn in the field (pl. 36, fig. 3)<sup>35</sup>.

The artistic evidence can also be very informative in the case of writing implements<sup>36</sup>. Such implements were introduced into the portrayals of the evangelists and other saintly authors with the purpose of identifying them as such. A single pen and an ink-well would have been adequate for this purpose, but in many instances, especially in miniature painting, the artists chose to depict a veritable inventory of the equipment used in mediaeval scriptoria<sup>37</sup>. Changes in the types of implements represented might reflect a concomitant change in the working practices of scribes or in the writing materials they used. The inclusion of scissors, for example, among the writing implements attributed to saintly authors from the eleventh century down to the Late Byzantine period could be a reflection of the increasing use of paper in the manufacturing of codices in Byzantium observed from the eleventh onward<sup>38</sup>.

By contrast, the artistic evidence is less forthcoming from an archaeological point of view in the case of elements of setting such as furniture and furnishings. It is not clear, for example, whether the preference of Palaeologan art for the representation of box-like furniture, thrones with a curved back like niches, and textile furnishings of a relatively sober appearance reflected a development in the typology of the actual artefacts or should be better explained in the light of stylistic developments in the Late Byzantine period, which favoured volume and monumentality at the expense of decorative effect<sup>39</sup>. Despite these reservations, there exist certain depictions of elements of setting which may be taken to reflect contemporary artefacts<sup>40</sup>. One such representation is the elegant folding stool in Christ before Pilate in the fourteenth-century church of Saint Nikolaos Orphanos at Thessalonica (pl. 37, fig. 1).

Religious pictorial contexts should be tapped with caution for evidence concerning working practices in mediaeval Byzantium. It has been shown, for example, that certain agricultural implements suitable for the cultivation of cereals were mistakenly depicted employed in a vineyard<sup>41</sup>. Such oversights were probably due

<sup>35</sup> PARANI, *Reconstructing*, 104–16. In a thought-provoking article by T. DAWSON, *Kremasmata, Kabadion, Klibanion: Some Aspects of Middle Byzantine Military Equipment Reconsidered*. *BMGS* 22 (1998) 38–50, the author attempts to reconstruct the method of assembly of Middle Byzantine lamellar cuirasses on the basis of representations of such armour in certain portrayals of military saints. Though I do not doubt that these representations indeed reflect lamellar cuirasses, I have certain reservations as to whether their rendering is exact to the point of reproducing the finer details of the lacing together of the lamellae. First of all, it seems unlikely that Byzantine artists had the specialized knowledge that would allow them to be so precise. Secondly, their treatment of these cuirasses appears to have been dictated to a large extent by the search for decorative effect and not by a wish to be accurate. The narrow bands spacing the rows of lamellae in some representations, which, according to Dawson, indicate that these rows were first attached on a band of leather and then assembled, could very well be an artistic invention or a schematized rendering of the bands of darker colour employed in some other representations to indicate that the rows of lamellae are overlapping upwards, as was indeed the case in generic lamellar construction, see, for example, RESTLE, *Wall-painting in Asia Minor*, II, figs. 230 [left], 232; C. JOLIVET-LÉVY, *Les églises byzantines de Cappadoce. Le programme iconographique de l'abside et ses abords*. Paris 1991, pls. 55.2, 168.1.

<sup>36</sup> The usefulness of the evidence provided by the portraits of the evangelists in the study of writing implements has been highlighted by H. HUNGER, *Schreiben und Lesen in Byzanz*. Munich 1989, 85–9. For a survey of representations of writing implements in mediaeval Serbian painting see I. ĐORĐEVIĆ, *Predstave pribora za pisanje i opremu knjige u srpskom srednjovekovnom slikarstvu*, in: *Zbornik Vladimira Mošina*, eds. D. BOGDANOVIĆ *et alii*. Belgrade 1977, 87–112. I owe the latter reference to Dr. Branislav Cvetković, whom I here thank. I would also like to extend my thanks to Dr. Dorotei Getov for translating this article for me.

<sup>37</sup> PARANI, *Reconstructing*, 205–10.

<sup>38</sup> For representations of scissors see, among others, RESTLE, *Wall-painting in Asia Minor*, II, fig. 197; H. BUCHTHAL – H. BELTING, *Patronage in Thirteenth-century Constantinople. An Atelier of Late Byzantine Book Illumination and Calligraphy (DOS 17)*. Washington, D.C. 1978, pl. 78b. For general information on the production and use of paper in Byzantium see E. MIONI, *Introduzione alla paleografia greca*. Padova 1973, 23–8; *ODB*, 1579; N. OIKONOMIDES, *Caratteri esterni degli atti*, in: *La civiltà bizantina, oggetti e messaggio: Fonti diplomatiche e società delle province*, ed. A. GUILLOU. Rome 1991, 26–8; *idem*, *Writing Materials, Documents, and Books*, in: *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A. E. LAIOU. Washington, D.C. 2002, II 589–90.

<sup>39</sup> This clearly constitutes a departure from the highly decorative furniture and furnishings favoured by Komnenian art. Compare, for example, the valance of the bed in the Dormition at Kurbinovo (1191) with that of the bed in the same scene at the Protaton (circa 1300). C. GROZDANOV – L. HADERMANN-MISGUICH, *Kurbinovo*. Skopje 1992, fig. 46; KALLINIKOS (monachos), *Η τεχνική της αγιογραφίας*, fig. 27.

<sup>40</sup> PARANI, *Reconstructing*, 160–91. For a survey of representations of contemporary furniture in mediaeval Serbian painting see V. HAN, *Profani namještaj na našoj srednjovekovnoj fresci*. *Muzej Primenjene Umetnosti, Zbornik* 1 (1955) 7–52.

<sup>41</sup> BRYER, *Agricultural Implements*, 50.

to the fact that the artists were not familiar with agricultural practices. On the other hand, painters, especially miniaturists, knew very well that the bifolios of a codex were bound only after the copying and the illumination of the pages had been completed. Yet, they often represented the evangelists writing directly on open codices, sacrificing, it would seem accuracy for the sake of iconographic necessity. Most probably, their intention was to identify these figures as the authors of the books they held in their hands, not as real scribes at work.

Realistic depictions of people at work do, of course, occur in religious pictorial contexts. One such instance is the unique portrayal of Saint Matthew at the Protaton on Mount Athos, dated to around 1300<sup>42</sup>. The evangelist is portrayed trimming the pages of a book-block that has the wooden boards of the cover stitched on and is held tightly in a screw-press. This is in accordance to the Byzantine bookbinding practice to have the boards flush with the book-block. For the trimming the evangelist is using a broad-bladed instrument with wooden handles on either end. Other implements employed in the bookbinding process, namely the hammer, the awl, and the scissors, are shown lying on the desk next to him. The activity of bookbinding workshops on Mount Athos in the Late Byzantine period might have prompted this representation and could account for its accuracy<sup>43</sup>.

### THE QUESTION OF FOREIGN INFLUENCES

While surveying Byzantine religious pictorial contexts one often encounters representations of clearly non-Byzantine artefacts. Some were introduced into Byzantine religious contexts deliberately for the purpose of identifying a figure as belonging to a particular cultural or ethnic group. Such depictions are very interesting as they indicate Byzantine familiarity with the material culture of neighbouring peoples. Saint James the Persian, for example, portrayed at Protaton around 1300, was given a distinctive Mongol hat with a fur brim that was meant to identify him as “Persian”<sup>44</sup>. Iran had come under Mongol rule at the beginning of the thirteenth century<sup>45</sup>. Consequently, whoever decided to attribute this head-dress to the particular saint made a well-informed choice.

Other non-Byzantine artefacts appear to have infiltrated into Byzantine religious contexts because they constituted an integral part of foreign artistic models imitated by Byzantine artists working in a particular region<sup>46</sup>. This, for example, appears to be the case of the oriental-looking tunic, which is encountered in a small group of Cappadocian monuments dated to the ninth and tenth centuries<sup>47</sup>. The occurrence of this tunic in this particular group of churches has been attributed to artistic influences from the Christian Orient, postulated for these ensembles on the basis of other iconographic, stylistic, and epigraphic considerations<sup>48</sup>.

Lastly, there exist a number of oriental- and western-looking artefacts which were reflected in Byzantine religious contexts because they were actually in use in Byzantine lands. The artefacts belonging to this group may be distinguished from those in the previous two because, unlike the first, they do not serve as attributes

<sup>42</sup> KALLINKOS (monachos), Η τεχνική της αγιογραφίας, fig. 47.

<sup>43</sup> J. IRIGOIN, La reliure byzantine, in: E. BARAS – J. IRIGOIN – J. VEZIN, La reliure médiévale. Trois conférences d’initiation. Paris 1978, esp. 26–8; Byzance. L’art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises, eds. J. DURAND *et alii*. Paris 1993, 467–71; A. MUTHESIUS, Byzantine Silk Weaving, AD 400 to AD 1200. Vienna 1997, fig. 13. On bookbinding workshops on Mount Athos and northern Greece in the Late Byzantine period see J. IRIGOIN, Un groupe de reliures byzantines au monogramme des Paléologues. *Revue française d’histoire du livre* 36 (1982) 274.

<sup>44</sup> KALLINKOS (monachos), Η τεχνική της αγιογραφίας, fig. 86. Saint James the Persian wears a similar hat at Staro Nagoričino (1317/8) see DJURIĆ, Byzantinische Fresken, pl. XXXIV. Cf. J. M. ROGERS, The Topkapı Saray Museum. The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts. London 1986, figs. 38, 49.

<sup>45</sup> D. MORGAN, The Mongols and the Eastern Mediterranean, in: Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204, eds. B. ARBEL – B. HAMILTON – D. JACOBY. London 1989, 198–211.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. D. MOURIKI, Palaeologan Mistra and the West, in: Βυζάντιο και Ευρώπη, Α΄ Διεθνής Βυζαντινολογική Συνάντηση, 20–24 Ιουλίου 1985. Athens 1987, 239.

<sup>47</sup> See N. and M. THIERRY, Nouvelles églises rupestres de Cappadoce. Région du Hasan Dağı. Paris 1963, fig. 11 (Eğri taş kilisesi) pls. 45–7 (Yılınlı kilise) 59 (Kokar kilise) 65a (Pürenli seki kilisesi); G. DE JERPHANION, Une nouvelle province de l’art byzantin: Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce, I–II in 4 pts., 3 albums. Paris 1925–1942, pls. 37.4 (Göreme, chapel 11: Saint Eustathios), 141.2 (Çavuşin, Pigeon House church).

<sup>48</sup> JERPHANION, Une nouvelle province, I, 162–3; II, 94–7, 229–34, 398; THIERRY, Nouvelles églises rupestres, 66–7, 98–100, 113–4, 139 note 2, 163, 218–20.



for foreigners and, unlike the second, their depiction became current in the pictorial vocabulary of a given period and was not confined geographically to a particular area. The fact that in some cases these artefacts are accurately represented argues in favour of the artists having first-hand knowledge of the actual objects<sup>49</sup>. Such foreign influences are clearly reflected in the depiction of arms and armour in Late Byzantine monuments. The typology of the weapons attributed to military saints clearly attests to the influence of both Western and Eastern military traditions on Byzantine practices at the time<sup>50</sup>. The portrayal of Saint Merkourios at the Peribleptos in Ohrid (1294/5) is a very interesting example in this respect. The saint's outfit combines a western chapel-de-fer (type of helmet) with two items of oriental derivation, a sabre and a protective outer garment lined with mail (pl. 37, fig. 2).

### QUESTIONS OF HOMOGENEITY AND REGIONAL DIVERSIFICATION

At different periods certain types of artefacts, like items of imperial, official, and military dress, thrones and upholstered footstools, wooden furniture with turned elements, richly patterned valances, even distaffs on a stand, came to constitute stock types in the pictorial vocabulary of religious art<sup>51</sup>. The fact that they are encountered in monuments created all over the empire is more likely to be a function of the working practices of Byzantine artists and of the availability of common artistic models, rather than a reflection of a supposed homogeneity of material culture in Byzantine provinces. It is, of course, possible that some of these artefacts were indeed in use in different parts of the empire, but this cannot be claimed on the basis of the artistic evidence alone.

The evidence on regional diversification in Byzantine material culture provided by artistic representations of objects is admittedly scarce and concerns largely the dress of the common people. On the basis of their uniqueness, certain items of dress attributed to secondary figures in narrative scenes can be assumed to reflect local practices. This could very well be the case of the garment of young Salome at Kılıçlar Kuşluk in Cappadocia, dated to the first half of the eleventh century, and of the elegant head-dress of the midwife at Panagia Arakiotissa in Cyprus, dated to 1192<sup>52</sup>. Another instance of a possible reflection of local fashions is the attribution of earrings to boys and young men at Kurbinovo in Byzantine Macedonia, dated to 1191<sup>53</sup>.

### TOPICAL CONCERNS

The preceding sections explored the ways in which the study of *realia* in religious art may be employed to elucidate various aspects of the development of material culture in mediaeval Byzantium, aspects ranging from the typology and function of artefacts to questions of foreign influences and regional diversification. The artistic evidence was evaluated primarily from an archaeological point of view with the purpose of demonstrating that it may be used successfully to supplement the evidence provided by extant artefacts and the written sources. The examples discussed so far indicate that contemporary secular artefacts were introduced into Byzantine religious artistic contexts to a degree greater than what is usually assumed. These *realia*, however, were represented in the same iconographic contexts along with fanciful and conventional types, creating a whole that had never existed at any particular point in time, that was, one might say, 'ageless'. Byzantine religious art does not illustrate daily life in mediaeval Byzantium nor was it ever meant to do so. Nevertheless, the occurrence of particular types of artefacts in particular iconographic contexts may serve on occasion as an 'objective' pointer to certain temporal concerns and popular beliefs of Byzantine society as well as to living conditions in the lands of the empire. A most illuminating example in this respect is the

<sup>49</sup> See, for example, TSITOURIDOU, Ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος, pl. 90, for a representation of a sword with the characteristic disc pommel, a type which was particularly popular in the West during the Late Middle Ages. On the development of the disc pommel in the West see E. OAKESHOTT, *The Archaeology of Weapons. Arms and Armour from Prehistory to the Age of Chivalry*. London 1960, 225, fig. 106 (types H–K); A. B. HOFFMEYER, *From Medieval Sword to Renaissance Rapier*. *Gladius* 2 (1963) 11–8.

<sup>50</sup> PARANI, *Reconstructing*, 120–1, 125, 134–6.

<sup>51</sup> PARANI, *Reconstructing*, 244–5, 247, 251, 267–8, 270–71.

<sup>52</sup> RESTLE, *Wall-painting in Asia Minor*, II, fig. 284; A. H. S. MEGAW – A. STYLIANOU, *Cyprus: Byzantine Mosaics and Frescoes*. New York 1963, pl. XVI.

<sup>53</sup> GROZDANOV – HADERMANN-MISGUICH, *Kurbinovo*, figs. 39, 42, 44.



representation of the damned in distinctive dress or with the instruments of their sins around their neck in the iconographic context of the Last Judgement. It has been demonstrated that the inspiration for the portrayal of the damned tormented by the instruments of their sin is to be sought in popular beliefs concerning the nature of the punishment awaiting transgressors in Hell<sup>54</sup>. At the same time, the portrayals of the damned provide an interesting inventory of the evils of mediaeval society like the abuse of power, alluded to by the inclusion of anonymous figures in imperial and official dress, usury, represented by the figure with a purse around the neck, and the falsification of weights, represented by the figure with the balance scales around the neck. In the case of the depiction of the Last Judgement in the small, thirteenth-century church of Saint George at Kalybia in Attica, the painter has given a graphic inventory of the problems faced by the inhabitants of this rural area<sup>55</sup>. To the right of the figure of the rich man from the parable of Poor Lazarus (Luke 16:19–25), is a row of nine heads of sinners. The first is the falsifier of weights. Then follows a royal couple, which is identified by inscriptions as Herod and Herodias; both were exemplars of human cruelty and lustfulness. Next comes the evil-minded archimandrite with a moneybag around his neck, an allusion, according to Mouriki, to the attachment of the clergy to material wealth. The next figure to the right is that of an official, if one is to judge by the head-dress he is wearing. Around his neck he has a *kalamarin*, a portable pen-case-and-ink-well. The presence of this figure stigmatizes the abuse of power by state officials, but it could also be referring to a particular problem like the forging of legal documents, the falsification of tax-registers, or the issuing of unjust verdicts in court<sup>56</sup>. The last four sinners are punished for offences associated with the life of agricultural communities. The first has a plough around his neck as punishment for plowing another man's field. The second, judging by the sickle at his neck, has harvested someone else's field. The third, with the axe at his neck, is probably being punished for cutting wood in someone else's property. The pair of shears at the neck of the last one suggests that he is probably being punished for shearing another's sheep<sup>57</sup>.

#### ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE MATERIAL WORLD AND ITS REPRESENTATION

It has become clear that the acknowledged indifference of Byzantine religious art towards the representation of the material world was often tempered by a variety of considerations, be they artistic or other. Iconographic necessity, concessions to fashion and prevalent artistic tastes, the intellectual interests and temporal concerns of Byzantine society – to mention but a few – all played a part in the introduction of *realia* into religious pictorial contexts. Byzantine attitudes towards the material world in general or certain aspects of it in particular must have also affected its reflection in religious art, but these are infinitely more difficult to identify. Still, the monuments themselves provide us with a number of 'indicators' towards tracing such attitudes. The inventory of artefact-types represented, the amount of detail and care with which they are rendered, their semiotic function within iconographic contexts, as well as the geographic and chronological distribution of their representations are the most significant of these pointers. To discuss but one example, even a superficial survey of Byzantine art reveals that the majority of contemporary secular artefacts re-

<sup>54</sup> D. MOURIKI, An Unusual Representation of the Last Judgment in a Thirteenth Century Fresco at St George near Kouvaras in Attica. *DChAE* 8 (1975–1976) 160–64.

<sup>55</sup> MOURIKI, Representation, 149–50, 156–60.

<sup>56</sup> The first two alternative interpretations of the figure with the *kalamarin* have been put forward by MOURIKI, Representation, 149–50. The possibility of this figure being associated with the workings of Byzantine courts suggested itself to me because of the fact that depictions of writing implements constitute a regular feature of trial scenes in religious artistic contexts. Their introduction into these images was, in all probability, inspired by the stipulation of Roman law that, in order to be valid, all decisions of Roman judges should appear in written form; this stipulation was still in force in the Late Byzantine period, see PARANI, Reconstructing, 211–2.

<sup>57</sup> Mouriki identified the implement around the last sinner's head as pruning shears, see MOURIKI, Representation, 160. However, according to the written and the artistic evidence, it was a vine-dresser's knife that was employed for pruning in Byzantium, not a pair of shears, see BRYER, Agricultural Implements, 78. Bryer, in fact, was the first to suggest that the implement at the church of Saint George looked more like a pair of sheep shears. I owe the suggestion that the last sinner is being punished for shearing someone else's sheep to Dr. A. Dunn, whom I here thank. For a more detailed discussion of Last Judgement compositions in village churches as sources on daily life in Byzantine rural areas and its mundane and spiritual concerns see S. E. J. GERSTEL, The Sins of the Farmer: Illustrating Village Life (and Death) in Medieval Byzantium, in: Word, Image, Number. Communication in the Middle Ages, eds. J. J. CONTRENI – S. CASCANI. Tarnuuzze 2002, 205–17; see also M. GARIDES, Les punitions collectives et individuelles des damnés dans le jugement dernier (du XII<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle). *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti* 18 (1982) 1–18.

flected in religious pictorial contexts at any given period in all parts of the empire was derived from the imperial milieu of Constantinople<sup>58</sup>. Rulers and officials were identified as such by being attributed characteristic items of Byzantine ceremonial dress and stately seats and footstools, as well as by being flanked by attendants and bodyguards reminiscent of the imperial retinue<sup>59</sup>. The martyrs were dressed in the *chlamys*-costume of Byzantine officials<sup>60</sup>. In certain Middle Byzantine artistic contexts, military saints appear wearing a type of body-armour that probably reflected the ceremonial armour of the emperor and his generals<sup>61</sup>. Even elements of setting, like thrones and footstools, red and purple hangings, fans made of peacock feathers, and richly patterned valances, allude to the luxuriousness of the imperial ambience<sup>62</sup>. The evidence adduced here clearly indicates that the avowed detachment of Byzantine religious art from its surrounding material reality did not apply to the representation of the trappings of imperial government and ceremonial. Why this was so appears to have been the result of a variety of reasons, both artistic and ideological. The splendour of the attire and the luxuriousness of the furniture and the furnishings of the imperial court were perhaps considered as conferring additional honour to the saintly archetypes of the images and as imbuing the compositions with a stateliness appropriate to their sacred content<sup>63</sup>. Furthermore, the trappings of imperial ceremonial and administration, familiar to both the creators and the audience of the images through their day-to-day experience or through the medium of official art, must have presented themselves as the most appropriate and easily recognizable iconographic devices for expressing the concepts of sovereignty, authority, and rank<sup>64</sup>. The Byzantine belief that the hierarchical structure of the earthly empire mirrored that of the heavenly kingdom<sup>65</sup> could have justified, if not prompted, borrowings from imperial imagery for the visualization of the Kingdom of God. The conviction that the imperial rites reflected the universal order<sup>66</sup> was enough to detach the imperial milieu from the sphere of transitional, everyday existence<sup>67</sup>. The material trappings of imperial ceremonial, in their magnificence and conservatism, were probably considered as impersonal and as ageless as the

<sup>58</sup> PARANI, *Reconstructing*, *passim*.

<sup>59</sup> Compare, for example, the representation of the Enrolment for Taxation at the Chora Monastery (1315–1321) with the miniature portraying John VI Kantakuzenos presiding over the Church Council of 1351 (Par. gr. 1242, fol. 5v; completed in 1375). The manner in which the bodyguard behind Kyrenios holds the sword high up with the hilt upwards in the Chora mosaic reflects the manner in which the dignitary to the right of John VI holds the imperial sword. UNDERWOOD, *Kariye Djami*, pls. 159, 160; Byzance, 419 (colour reproduction).

<sup>60</sup> Compare, for example, the costume of the chorus of martyrs from the Last Judgement composition in the ossuary chapel at Bačkovo (mid-twelfth century) to the costume of the protospatharios Basil in Kutlumsiousiu 60, fol. Iv (*terminus ante quem* 1169). E. BAKALOVA, *Bachkovskata kostnitsa*. Sofia 1977, fig. 29; PELEKANIDES *et alii*, *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, II, fig. 295.

<sup>61</sup> This is best illustrated by the miniature portrait of the emperor Basil II in his famous Psalter (Marc. gr. Z.17, fol. IIIr; early eleventh century). The emperor, who is portrayed in ceremonial military dress triumphant over his enemies, is surrounded by the busts of six military saints, who wear exactly the same type of cuirass as he does. SPATHARAKIS, *Portrait*, 20–26, fig. 6; A. CUTLER – J.-M. SPIESER, *Byzance médiévale, 700–1204*. Paris 1996, fig. 254 (colour reproduction).

<sup>62</sup> MOURIKI, *Περί Βυζαντινῶν κύκλων*, 130–1; PARANI, *Reconstructing*, 160–7, 170–3, 179–84.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. the comments of the emperor Leo VI (886–912) à propos the pictorial decoration of the church of the Monastery of Kauleas in Constantinople, translated by C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire: 312–1453, Sources and Documents*. Toronto 1986, 203: The craftsman has made abundant use of gold whose utility he perceived: for, by its admixture, he intended to endow the pictures with such beauty as appears in the apparel of the emperors' entourage. Furthermore, he realized that the pallor of gold was an appropriate colour to express the virtue of [Christ's] members.

<sup>64</sup> Having recourse to the imperial environment and official art in search of the appropriate iconographic means for expressing the ideas of power and sovereignty was a practice established since the beginnings of Christian iconography, see A. GRABAR, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*. Paris 1936, 189–261; IDEM, *Les voies de la création en iconographie chrétienne*. Antiquité et Moyen Age. Paris 1979, 41–50.

<sup>65</sup> See, for example, H. AHRWEILER, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin*. Paris 1975, 137–8. For the origins of this belief, which date back to the time of Eusebius and Constantine the Great, see F. DVORNIK, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, I–II. Washington, D.C. 1966, II 614–21.

<sup>66</sup> The classical statement of this idea in the mediaeval period is found in the Book of Ceremonies compiled by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos in the tenth century, see *De cerimoniis*, ed. I. REISKE, II. Bonn 1830, 5.6–8, 638.3–5.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. the anecdotal story about Leo VI recounted by Liudprand of Cremona in his *Antapodosis*. According to the story, when the disguised Leo, who had ended up in a prison cell, asked the jailer whether he knew the emperor, the jailer replied How could I know him when I do not remember ever having seen him properly? Certainly I have gazed at a distance once or twice, when he has appeared in public, but I could not get close, and it seemed to me that I was looking at a wonder of nature rather than at a human being. The Works of Liudprand of Cremona, transl. F. A. WRIGHT. London 1930, 39; see also R. CORMACK, *The Emperor at St. Sophia: Viewer and Viewed*, in: *Byzance et les images*, eds. A. GUILLOU – J. DURAND. Paris 1994, 248, 250.

establishment they epitomized. Consequently, their presence in religious pictorial contexts would not have compromised the transcendental character of Christian iconography and was, therefore, acceptable.

To conclude, it is surprising at how many different levels and in what variety of contexts one may detect the reflection of contemporary reality in Byzantine religious art, despite this art's avowed indifference towards things material and transitional. The process of locating and understanding such reflections is a painstaking one and requires familiarity with the formation processes of religious iconography if one is to avoid the many pitfalls. Nevertheless, considering the rewards, I believe that it is well-worth making the attempt.

## The Most Precious Thread in Byzantium and Medieval Serbia

The Protevangelium of James is the principal source for the iconography of the Annunciation<sup>1</sup>. We read that Patriarch Zacharias, or Ruvim<sup>2</sup>, found several virgins who were descended from the house of King David to make a veil for the temple. Needing one more, he sent for Mary, despite her being married. He allocated the materials needed: gold thread, *amiantos*, *byssus*, *siricos*, *hyacinthine*, crimson and true purple<sup>3</sup>. By Providence the Virgin was given the true purple and the crimson skein. She then went to the well to fetch water. There she heard the first Annunciation from the invisible Gabriel. Later, the Virgin was spinning the yarn from the basket on the spindle when the angel appeared. After the Annunciation she gave her true purple and crimson thread to Zacharias. The veil of the temple was made from the product of the virgins. When Christ gave up his spirit, the veil was rent in two<sup>4</sup>. Thus the thread and the veil were the perfect symbols of the Incarnation.

In Early Christian art the Annunciation is presented in accordance with the Gospel of Saint Luke<sup>5</sup>. From the fifth century on the pattern follows the apocryphal Gospel of Saint James. The Virgin is shown spinning, her action sometimes brought to a halt by the messenger of God. Throughout the centuries the Virgin is shown standing, holding a spindle and the yarn in her left hand. In the middle of the eleventh century innovations appear in the iconography. Details such as a throne, the well, the garden, servants (or other virgins), and different gestures and attire of Mary and Gabriel make important differences. Sometimes attention is given to the surprise of the Virgin<sup>6</sup> and the significance of the event<sup>7</sup>. In this case the spindle and the yarn do not appear. The homilies of James Kokkinobaphos were illustrated in the beginning of the 12th century. In addi-

<sup>1</sup> C. TISCHENDORF, *Evangelia apocrypha adhibitis plurimis codicibus graecis et latinis maximam partem nunc primus consultis atque ineditorum copia insignibus*. Lipsiae 1853, 1–49; E. DE STRYKER, *La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques (Subsidia hagiographica 33)*. Bruxelles 1961, 46–109; S. NOVAKOVIĆ, *Apokrifno protojevanđelje Jakovljevo. Starine Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti* 10 (1878) 61–71.

<sup>2</sup> In the early accounts the high priest is Ruvim, cf. C. TISCHENDORF, *Evangelia apocrypha*, 1–4. In later textual tradition and in fresco painting he is named as Zacharias, cf. J. LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident*, I. Bruxelles 1964, 65 (= LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge*).

<sup>3</sup> C. TISCHENDORF, *Evangelia apocrypha*, 21. In this work we used the following dictionaries: C. DU FRESNE DU CANGE, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae & Infimae Graecitatis*, I–IV. Lugduni 1688 (= DU CANGE, *Glossarium Graecitatis*); IDEM, *Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae & Infimae Latinitatis*. Turnisii 1762 (= DU CANGE *Glossarium Latinitatis*); E. A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*. From B. C. 146 to A. D. 1100, I–II. Cambridge, MA 1887 (reprint New York s. a.) (= SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon*); N. TOMASEO – B. BELLINI, *Dizionario della lingua italiana*. Torino 1865 (= TOMASEO – BELLINI, *Dizionario della lingua italiana*); F. MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum emendatum auctum*. Vindobonae 1862–1865 (= MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon*); I. BLAGOVA – P. M. CEJTLIN – S. GERODES *et alii*, *Staroslavjanskij slovar' (po rukopisjam X–XI–XII vekov)*. Moscow 1999 (= BLAGOVA–CEJTLIN–GERODES, *Staroslavjanskij slovar'*). The most obscure term is *amiantos* meaning, probably, pure, cf. DU CANGE, *Glossarium Latinitatis*, *sub voce* – *amiantos*. For the rest, cf. *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> Commonplace in all synoptical Gospels.

<sup>5</sup> The first known example is represented on the sarcophagi in Syracuse, cf. G. BABIĆ, *Les fresques de Sušica en Macédoine et l'iconographie originale de leurs images de la vie de la Vierge. Cahiers Archéologiques* 12 (1962) 303–39. Among the vast literature about the Annunciation we shall quote those concerning our topic: G. MILLET, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècle d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du Mont Athos*. Paris 1916, 67–92 (= MILLET, *Recherches*), G. BABIĆ, *L'iconographie constantinopolitaine de l'Acathiste de la Vierge à Cozia (Valachie)*. *ZRVI* 14–15 (1973) 173–89 (= BABIĆ, *L'iconographie constantinopolitaine*); LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge*; EADEM, *Iconography of the Cycle of the Infancy of the Virgin*, in: *The Kariye Djami, IV. Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and its Intellectual Background*. Princeton 1975; EADEM, *L'illustration de la première partie de l'hymne Akathiste et sa relation avec les mosaïques de l'enfance de la Kariye Djami*. *Byz* 54 (1984) 648–702 (= LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, *L'illustration de la première partie de l'hymne*).

<sup>6</sup> G. BABIĆ, *Kraljeva crkva u Studenici*. Beograd 1987, 135–8. The author quotes examples.

<sup>7</sup> As is the case in Dečani, cf. M. MARKOVIĆ, *Ciklus velikih praznika*, in: *Zidno slikarstvo manastira Dečana: grada i studije*. Beograd 1995, 108. The author believes that the iconography is made in accordance with the Gospel of St. Luke.

tion to eight Annunciation scenes the distribution of the skein was represented<sup>8</sup>. The Akathistos of the Virgin was first painted as a cycle in the church of the Virgin in Elason<sup>9</sup>. The Annunciation is presented in the first three scenes, the fourth is the Conception. The Virgin sometimes holds a spindle and a yarn in the Conception scene. In some monuments a large screen is held by the servants. The screen also appears in the presentations of the Entrance of the Virgin into the Temple<sup>10</sup>. In Proclus' homily of 430 the Mother of God is likened to a workshop housing a loom on which the flesh of God is woven<sup>11</sup>. A great number of hymn texts have the Annunciation as their subject. The materialisation of Christ's body has been seen in the spinning of the purple yarn and the weaving of the temple veil:

Πορφύρα ἐξ ἧς σὰρξ συνεξυφάνθη τοῦ θεανθρώπου Λόγου

*Purple, you have woven godly-human Logos from your body*

Πορφυρίς ἡ τὸ ἔβριον βάψασα τῆς ἀπορρήτου τοῦ Λόγου σαρκώσεως<sup>12</sup>

*The purple woollen dress, unspoken Logos incarnate*

*Carskuju bagrenicu ot krvej ti čistih / ti istkala jesi carevi silam, Vladičice*<sup>13</sup>.

*From your own blood the purple robe / you have woven for the Emperor of powers, Despoina.*

True purple (πορφυροῦν) and crimson colours entered Byzantine civilization via the Roman legacy and Oriental influence<sup>14</sup>. Nevertheless, the strong impact of the canonical and non-canonical texts should not be ignored. Court attire is described in two main sources<sup>15</sup>. Throughout the Byzantine millennium the emperor appeared in purple, gold and rarely in white. Only the emperor was entirely clad in purple. Seldom did anyone else wear purple or gold and, when they did, only in details. The white of the Roman draped costume disappeared in the course of the centuries<sup>16</sup>. The number of pigments available for painting being limited, it

<sup>8</sup> H. OMONT, *Miniatures des Homélies sur la Vierge du moine Jacques*. Ms. gr. 1208 de Paris. Paris 1927; cf. LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, *L'illustration de la première partie de l'hymne*, 627, n. 88.

<sup>9</sup> The church was erected from 1295 till 1304. The frescoes date from the beginning or the middle of the 14th century, cf. LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, *L'illustration de la première partie de l'hymne*, 653, n. 17.

<sup>10</sup> LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE, *L'illustration*, 676–7; The first example of the screen projected behind the Virgin appears in Hilandar, cf. G. BABIĆ, *Bogorodičin akatist*, in: *Zidno slikarstvo manastira Dečana: grada i studije*. Beograd 1995, 149–58. The screen concealed the presence of Christ.

<sup>11</sup> A. CAMERON, *The Early Cult of the Virgin*. In: *Mother of God. Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*. Athens 2000, 10.

<sup>12</sup> S. EUSTRATIADES, *Ἡ Θεοτόκος ἐν τῇ ὑμνογραφίᾳ*. Paris – Chennevière sur Marne 1930, *sub voce* – πορφύρα. See also H. FOLLIERI, *Initia hymnorum ecclesiae Graecae (StT 213)*. Vatican 1962, III 347 *sub voce* – πορφύρα.

<sup>13</sup> In modern Serbian language: *Carsku bagrenicu od krvi ti čiste / ti istkala jesi caru sila, Vladičice*, ...; Jefrem in the canon written for Despot Stefan Lazarević, cf. Srbljak, II. Beograd 1970, 288–9 and Đ. TRIFUNOVIĆ, *Beleške o delima u Srbljaku*, in: *O Srbljaku, Studije*. Beograd 1970, 313–5.

Mary is painted above the entrance of the Church of Theotokos Hodegetria in the Patriarchate of Peć. On her breast is an item from which Christ is emerging. The explanation given from the hymnography is of Mary as a purple shell giving birth to the pearl, Christ, cf. M. TATIĆ-ĐURIĆ, *Bogorodica u delu Danila II*, in: *Arhiepiskop Danilo II i njegovo doba*. Beograd 1991, 406–8.

<sup>14</sup> See the following entries in *ODB* 1–3: A. CUTLER, *Color*, 482–3; L. BOURAS, *Porphyry*, 1701; M. McCORMICK, A. KAZHDAN, A. CUTLER, *Purple*, 1759–60; also cf. *La porpora. Realtà e immaginario di un colore simbolico*, in: *Atti del Convegno di Studio*. Venezia, 24 e 25 ottobre 1996, ed. O. LONGO. Venice 1998. Unfortunately, the material from this conference was unavailable to us, as was the work of A. MUTHESIUS, *Byzantine Silk Weaving AD 400 to AD 1200*. Vienna 1997.

<sup>15</sup> Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, *Le Livre des Cérémonies*, I–II. Ed. A. VOGT. Paris 1935–1940 (=De Cer. I, II); J. VERPEAUX, *Pseudo-Kodinos. Traité des Offices*. Introduction, Texte et Traduction. Paris 1966 (=VERPEAUX, *Traité*).

<sup>16</sup> White was worn in honour of Easter as a colour of mourning. In the weeks before, during and after Easter, as well as during the celebration of the Annunciation, everyone wore the white *chlamida* – cf. De Cer. I, 7, 12, 17–9, 49, 59, 64, 107, 151; De Cer. II, 14–5, 45, 47–8, 60. The emperor is in purple, frequently named *oxys*, and in gold. He wears white during Easter, cf. A. CUTLER, *Purple*, I. c. Courtiers in the late Byzantine period rarely wore white. The costume of the late period is studied in: E. PILTZ, *Le costume officiel des dignitaires byzantins à l'époque Paléologue*. Uppsala 1994. The *despot* wore *oxys* or red, the *sebastocrator* blue and red, the *caesar* blue and red, the *megas domestikos* red, the *panhypersebastos* yellow and the *megas logothetes* green. Courtiers of a lower rank are dressed in red, apricot, white, yellow, *oxysleukos* (violet-white) and again red, cf. VERPEAUX, *Traité*, 141–66, especially 144, n. 1. During the mourning the emperor wears the white attire, *ibid.*, XI, 284–5. The hierarchy of colours was one of the subjects in the study about the title of Jovan Oliver, ktetor of Lesnovo, cf. S. GABELIĆ, *Novi podatak o sevastokratorskoj tituli Jovana Olivera i vreme slikanja lesnovskog naosa*. *Zograf* 11 (1980) 54–62.



is difficult to judge the colour really used in textiles<sup>17</sup>. *Oxys*<sup>18</sup> obviously has a special meaning and was worn on special occasions. *Alethinós*<sup>19</sup> should be a colour made with a purple dye. Purple<sup>20</sup> from Tyre and Sidon, the cradle of the dye, was reserved for courtiers. *Kokkinos*<sup>21</sup> was an equivalent for crimson, until it replaced the old term *erithra*. *Byssus*<sup>22</sup> was linen or sea-silk. Blue and deep blue were often presented on the imperial wardrobe of the angels alternating with purple. *Persikos*, indicating indigo, was a little-used term<sup>23</sup>. The colour purple was symbolic. It is possible that it covered a range of colours from intense red, through violet to deep blue<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> I. SPATHARAKIS, *The portrait in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts*. Leiden 1976; Spatharakis describes the colours and gives the terms for the attire: Alexios I (1081–1118) Vat. gr. 666 – purple *chlamys*, Synodal 387 – lilac *chlamys*, ibd., 124–129; John II (1118–1143) Vat. urb. gr. 2 – purple *scaramangion*, ibd., 81; Manuel I (1143–1180) Vat. gr. 1176 – dark purple, Empress Maria red, ibd., 209; Andronikos II (1282–1328) Chrysobull for Janina – blue *sakkos*, Virgin is signed as *H ΠΟΡΦΥΡΙ* n. 7 – Chrysobull for Monemvasia the same, ibd., 184–185; Andronikos III (1328–1341) Cod. hist. 2 601, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Stuttgart – *sakkos melas* (black robe) – Empress Anna, brownish purple, ibd., 237; John VI (1347–1354) Par. gr. 1242 – dark brown *sakkos*, ibd., 132; Manuel II (1391–1425) Par. Suppl. gr. 309 – dark purple as a later addition, ibd., 233 – Manuel II, Louvre, ms. Ivoires 100 – dark brown *sakkos*, Empress Helena red garment. We quote only the later examples. Cf. S. RADOJČIĆ, *Portreti srpskih vladara u srednjem veku*. Beograd 1996. Radojčić describes the colours worn by the Serbian kings and emperors. We quote only those examples where the dress is similar to that of the Byzantine emperors: Stefan Uroš I (1243–1276) purple, white (the mourning costume in the scene of the death of Anna Dandolo, the king's mother, in Sopoćani), ibd., 23–24; Stefan Dragutin (1276–1316) and Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321) dark purple (in Arilje), ibd., 31; Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321) purple (in the King's chapel in Studenica), ibd., 36; Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (1331–1355) light brown (*purpura ferruginei coloris*, in Karan), ibd., 50; Stefan Uroš IV Dušan purple, dark violet, crimson (in Dečani), ibd., 52–54; Stefan Uroš IV Dušan violet (in Lesnovo), ibd., 56; Stefan Uroš V (1255–1371) dark violet (in Psača), ibd., 61.

<sup>18</sup> DU CANGE, *Glossarium Graecitatis*, *sub voce* ὀξύς – *violaceus*, violet; DU CANGE, *Glossarium Latinitatis*, *sub voce* – *oxyblatta*, *purpura intensioris & vividioris luminis*, ὀξυφθίνικον; MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon*, *sub voce* – *jedro*, ὀξύς; BLAGOVA–CEJTLIN–GERODES, *Staroslavjanskij slovarʹ*, *sub voce* – *jedro*, bistro, brzo, jivahno, ὀξύς; V. NUNN, *The Encheirion as Adjunct to the Icon in the Middle Byzantine Period*. *BMGS* 10 (1986) 76, n. 13–14 (for the examples where the term was used for a fine textile, not for a colour); J. EBERSOLT, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance, étude sur l'art imperial de Constantinople*. Paris 1923, 21, n. 2–3. EBERSOLT discovers that *oxys* is intensive purple (*ton vif*). Helena, the wife of Stefan Uroš I (1243–1276), is depicted in the monasteries of Arilje (1296) and Gračanica (1324) as a widow. She is shown in monastic habit, having become a nun after her husband's death. The headgear is not typical for a nun, unless it denotes a *mega schema*. She is receiving the *analobos* from Christ (in Gračanica), the sign of the *mega schema*, cf. B. TODIĆ, *Gračanica*. Beograd 1988, 76, 130, 131, t. XXVII. She is wearing a high hat covered with dark blue/violet fabric. If the Byzantine empress is a widow, the appropriate dress for her son's coronation is the *mandyas oxys*, cf. VERPEAUX, *Traité*, 261, 359, n. 1. If the *mandyas oxys* was a specific symbol of the ruler's widow, then it appears to have been dark blue/violet in colour. Cf. G. MILLET, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macédoine et Monténégro)* II. Paris 1957, 97, f. 4; B. TODIĆ, *op. cit.*, t. XXVII; Zadužbine Kosova. Ljubljana 1987, 176, f. 111. The same item may be recognised on the head of *vasilissa* Maria, the wife of the late despot Aldimir, in the monastery of Pološko (1343–1345). She is wearing a light violet hat with edges falling down the elbows. On her neck is a scarf (wimple) of the same material. Her dress is black. Cf. C. GROZDANOV – D. ČORNAKOV, *Istorijski portreti u Pološkom* (II). *Zograf* 15 (1984) 85, 87, fig. 2; I. M. ĐORDEVIĆ, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele u doba Nemanjića*. Beograd 1994, 148, t. 12.

<sup>19</sup> ἀληθινός DU CANGE, *Glossarium Graecitatis*, *sub voce* – *purpureus*; DU CANGE, *Glossarium Latinitatis*, *sub voce* – *purpureus*; SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon*, *sub voce* – ἀληθινός, true purple, dyed with the genuine purple. The same term occurs for the skein of the Virgin, cf. *infra*.

<sup>20</sup> J. EBERSOLT, *Les arts* 21. The author states that *tyrea* was a red color, in contrast to hyacinthine, violet.

<sup>21</sup> DU CANGE, *Glossarium Graecitatis*, *sub voce* – κοκκινάδιον, *minium*, *fucus rubeus*, *quo mulieres genas & labia inficiunt* (therefore lipstick); SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon*, *sub voce* – κόκκινος, scarlet, red.

<sup>22</sup> DU CANGE, *Glossarium Graecitatis*, *sub voce* – μπίζος *Fuscus*, ex Italico *biso*; MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon*, *sub voce* – *bisinū*; BLAGOVA – CEJTLIN – GERODES, *Staroslavjanskij slovarʹ*, *sub voce* – *ousonč*.

<sup>23</sup> J. EBERSOLT, *op. cit.*, 11.

<sup>24</sup> L. JAMES, *Light and Colour in Byzantine Art*. Oxford 1996, 49–90, *et passim*. Some western terms for colours were used more to denote light and dark, brightness and shadow, cf. TOMASEO – BELLINI, *Dizionario della lingua italiana*, *sub voce* – *Morella* (*muiella*) – *Paonazzo* – *ciel sereno*. The same term (*Morella*, *o ver pagonazza*) could include the spectrum of colour, including red, violet and blue, cf. C. CENNINI, *Il libro dell'arte*, in: *Stari slikarski priručnici*, ed. M. MEDIĆ. Beograd 1999, 338, 360–1.

The colour crimson was also known in the West as scarlet and vermillion<sup>25</sup>. In the Treatise of Pseudo-Kodinos the emperor is described as wearing *granaza*<sup>26</sup>. It is possible to justify this term using Italian *grana*, *granazolo*<sup>27</sup>. There are other examples of Italian words in the work, *tabard* being among them<sup>28</sup>.

Purple and crimson also contributed to the court atmosphere in Serbia. Scarlet appeared in the court of King Stefan the First-Crowned (1196–1228). At the end of the biography of his father, Stefan Nemanja – the monk Simeon, King Stefan writes about his meeting with King Andrew II of Hungary (1205–1235) and the gifts he received:

..., i ōdēnija prēmīnogaja, črīvlienice carīskyie i bagrēnice, jako i cvětove polīšcīi različnyī, ukrašenīi bisery vīsi i kamyky, jakože cariemī podobaīetī<sup>29</sup>.

..., a vast quantity of clothing, imperial scarlet and purple<sup>30</sup> robes, like an assortment of flowers, decorated with pearl and precious stone, as befits an emperor.

His son King Stefan Vladislav (1234–1243) received in a contract made with Dubrovnik in 1237:

... i petī desetū lakītī skrīlata čistoga i črīlenoga ...<sup>31</sup>.

... fifty cubits of a flawless and red scarlet ...

The Serbian archbishop Danilo II (1324–1337) describes the meeting of two queens, Simonis and Katelina, in Belgrade:

... bisery že i kameni mnogocēnīnyimi, črīvljeny carīskyje i bagrenice (ozaraachu se svētešte se) jako i polīscīi cvēti mnogorazličīnyimi dobrotami ispištreni. ...<sup>32</sup>.

... decorated with precious stones and pearls, the scarlet and purple robes were glitteringly illuminated like flowers beautified in various ways. ...

Purple appeared as *oxys* on the epitaph of Maria Palaeologina, the wife of Stefan Uroš III Dečanski (1321–1331) and stepmother of Emperor Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (1331–1355). Carved at the beginning of the inscription on the gravestone are the words:

Ōt c(a)rskyich jadri prozidoch / [i vī c(a)rskaja paky pri]idoch<sup>33</sup>.

From imperial oxys I came again into the empire.

<sup>25</sup> Scarlet – Persian *sakirlāt* – from the worm *coccidae*. In Sanskrit language *krmi*, therefore in English *crimson*, French *cramoisi*, German *karmin*, Arabian *al-qirmis*. *Grana* (grain) was a term for all durable colours and the process of dyeing, cf. A. C. WEIBEL, *The Two Thousand Years of Textiles. The Figured Textiles of Europe and the Near East*. New York 1952, 10; TOMASEO – BELLINI, *Dizionario della lingua italiana, sub voce – vermiculus: Vermiglio Baco rosso dell'India, che serve a tingere di scarlato e di rosso. Vermiglio – latin vermiculus. Rosso acceso – chermisi*.

<sup>26</sup> VERPEAUX, *Traité*, 219.

<sup>27</sup> TOMASEO – BELLINI, *Dizionario della lingua italiana, sub voce – Grana, Italis Bacca cuiusdam arboris similis hederæ, cuius ussus est ad tincturam eius panni, quem vocant scarlatum. Grana, Corpi d'insetti simili alle coccole dell'ellera, co quali si tingono panni in rosso e paonazzo, ed è preziosa tinta. Vernicula, purpurea, sanguinea*; B. CVETKOVIĆ, *Prilog proučavanju vizantijskog dvorskog kosmima, IPANATZA – ΑΠΑΝΑΤΖΑΣ*. ZRVI 34 (1995) 143–56, 147, n. 24. The author gives the example of a cloth named: “granazolo uno vermiglio de grana”.

<sup>28</sup> TOMASEO – BELLINI, *Dizionario della lingua italiana, sub voce – Tabarro – s. m. Quel manto che gli uomini comunemente portano sopra gli altri vestimenti, Mantelo*, cf. VERPEAUX, *Traité* 39, n. 3, 143, n. 4, 147–9, 153.

<sup>29</sup> N. RADOJČIĆ, *Pokloni ugarskoga kralja Andrije II Stefanu Prvovenčanome. Zbornik Matice Srpske za književnost i jezik* 1 (1953, published 1954) 28.

<sup>30</sup> BLAGOVA–CEJTLIN–GERODES, *Staroslavjanskij slovarʒ, sub voce – Bagīrī*.

<sup>31</sup> LJ. STOJANOVIĆ, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma. Knjiga I: Dubrovnik i susedi njegovi. Prvi deo (Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda, Prvo odeljenje, Spomenici na srpskom jeziku, Knjiga XIX)*. Beograd/Sremski Karlovci 1929, 13.

<sup>32</sup> *Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih napisao arhiepiskop Danilo i drugi*, ed. Đ. DANIČIĆ. Zagreb 1866, 97.

<sup>33</sup> G. TOMOVIĆ, *Morfologija ćirilčkih natpisa na Balkanu (Istorijski Institut, Posebna izdanja, Knj. 16, ed. D. MILIĆ)*. Beograd 1974, 64 (No. 45).

Despot Stefan Lazarević (1389–1427) erected a column on Kosovo Field in memory of his father, Lazar Hrebeljanović (1371–1389), who died there. An inscription was carved on the marble column. Part of the inscription describing the Serbian warriors preparing for battle reads:

*Muževi dobri, muževi hrabri, muževi uistini u reči i na delu, koji su kao zvezde svetle blistali, kao zemlja cvetičima preišarani, odeveni zlatom i kamenjem dragim ukrašeni. Veoma mnogo [bilo je] konja izabranih i sa zlatnim sedlima. Veoma divni i krasni jahači njihovi*<sup>34</sup>.

*Good men, brave men, men true in word and deed, glittering like bright stars, like the earth decorated with colourful flowers, clad in gold and adorned with precious stones. With many selected horses and with golden saddles. Their riders very fair and handsome.*

From the will of Duke Stefan Vukčić Kosača (1432/35–1466) written in 1466:

*... k tomu šuba calina grimiza sa zlatomī, podstavljena zibilini; ...*<sup>35</sup>

*... To add šuba [a garment] of red crimson with gold, linen with sable; ...*

The aesthetics of appearance remained the same. Manuel I Komnenos (1143–1180) and Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203) were dressed in robes decorated with precious stones and pearls. It was compared to a valley full of blossoms, like the Serbian rulers<sup>36</sup>. We must add some observations, which are important to this topic. In Serbian medieval epics it is common to find references to miraculously made textiles:

*... Ona nosi od zlata košulju, / koja nije kroz prste predena, / ni u sitno brdo uvođena, / ni na razboj ona udarana, / no košulja na prste pletena, ...*<sup>37</sup>.

*... She wears a golden shirt / spun not through her fingers / nor beaten with her reed / nor warped upon the loom / but knitted with her fingers, ...*

*... i evo ti sedam boščaluka, / nit' su tkani, niti su predeni, / ni u sitno brdo uvođeni, / već od čista zlata ...*<sup>38</sup>.

*[he is given seven veils] / neither woven nor spun / nor beaten with the reed / but made of solid gold ...*

*... što od vode čoha crvenija, / a od sunca čoha rumenija, ...*<sup>39</sup>

*... cloth even more red after washing, / cloth even more red exposed to the sunlight, ...*

It appears that the senior clergy took the right to wear purple. Although there was strong opposition, the desire prevailed. The patriarchs of Serbia were attired in the glory of purple, probably in imitation of their Byzantine colleagues<sup>40</sup>. The symbolic meaning is drawn from the eschatological line of their forebearers.

<sup>34</sup> Đ. S. RADOJČIĆ, Književna stremljenja Despota Stefana Lazarevića, in: *Tvorci i dela stare srpske književnosti (Biblioteka studija, kritike i eseja 2*, ed. S. PEROVIĆ). Titograd 1963, 203.

<sup>35</sup> A. V. SOLOVJEV, *Odaabrani spomenici srpskog prava (od XII do kraja XV veka)*. Beograd 1926, 221. This example is worth of the attention because it signifies the first appearance of the word *grimiz* (crimson) in the Serbian language. The old term for crimson remains in use for a red colour. The term scarlet is a synonym for the term crimson, which appeared earlier. Cf. S. RADOJČIĆ, *Crvac. Zograf 2* (1967) 30–1; D. DINIĆ-KNEŽEVIĆ, *Tkanine u privredi srednjovekovnog Dubrovnika (Posebna izdanja Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti 540)*. Beograd 1982, 129–39, cf. supra n. 28.

<sup>36</sup> J. EBERSOLT, *op. cit.* 86, n. 11; P. MAGDALINO, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*. Cambridge 1993, 13.

<sup>37</sup> V. STEFANOVIĆ KARADŽIĆ, *Srpske Narodne Pjesme. Knjiga druga u kojoj su pjesme junačke najstarije*. Beograd 1958, No. 88: *Ženidba Maksima Crnojevića*, 533–4, lines 786–90.

<sup>38</sup> V. STEFANOVIĆ KARADŽIĆ, *op. cit.* No. 65: *Marko Kraljević i Arapin*, 380, lines 155–8; also cf. page 388, lines 416–9.

<sup>39</sup> V. STEFANOVIĆ KARADŽIĆ, *op. cit.* No. 88: *Ženidba Maksima Crnojevića*, 519, lines 332–3.

<sup>40</sup> In the Patriarchate of Peć, in the Church of Saint Demetrios, on the southern wall of the western bay an archbishop is presented, possibly Ioannikios, who was probably patriarch in 1345–1346. He is dressed like a Byzantine patriarch. His *sakkos* is dark red or purple, covered with pearls forming a vine. The apostles are presented in the loops of the vine. His long *omophorion* is thrown over his left arm. In his hands he is holding a gospel. St. Sava is presented in the narthex, near the main entrance to the Church of the Holy Apostles, above the throne. He is dressed similarly to Ioannikios. In his right hand he holds a cross. Cryptograms are inscribed on the crosses of the *omophorion*. On his head is a *kalyptra*, surmounted with a cross of pearls, divided above into three half-medallions. The central one shows Christ. On the left and right are angels. Cf. V. J. ĐURIĆ, *Presto Svetoga Save, in: Spomenica u čast novoizabranih članova Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti (Posebna izdanja CDLII, knj. 55)*. Beograd 1972, 93–105; V. J. ĐURIĆ – S. ĆIRKOVIĆ – V. KORAĆ, *Pećka patrijaršija*. Beograd 1990, 204–5, 237–8, n. 35., figg. 130, 153–4. On the occasion of the coronation of John V Palaeologos, Patriarch John Kalekas entered the Hagia Sophia wearing an elaborate *kalyptra* deco-

Christ's blood was redemption for mankind. The purple of the patriarchs' *sakkos* probably symbolised both imperial Christmas and redemptive Easter. The red or purple was sometimes seen as the blood of the Saints<sup>41</sup>.

The first sign of God's incarnation was the red colour of a thread twisted and spun by his mother. Therefore, this item is one of the material things strongly connected with God's human nature and for this reason the iconography insisted on representing it. In the Byzantine topos the paramount items of the imperial costume are gold, precious stones and pearls connected with this same purple thread.

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rated with the *Deesis*, as described by John Kantakuzenos. Cf. C. WALTER, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church*. London 1982, 29, n. 146. There is no mystery about the purple colour of the attire. Pseudo-Kodinos refers to the patriarchal robes as *porphyra*, John Kantakuzenos as *sakkos*, cf. VERPEAUX, *Traité* 200–1, n. 4, *Commentaire*, 32. In the illustration of a council convened by John Kantakuzenos, the four bishops flanking the emperor have the *omophoria* thrown over their left arms, cf. SPATHARAKIS, *op. cit.* 132. The headgear of the Serbian patriarch is reminiscent of the hats worn by senior officials of the Byzantine court, especially that of the *megas domestikos*, cf. VERPEAUX, *Traité* 152. These hats can also be found in painting. In the twelfth oikos of the Akathistos cycle in Cozia and in the illustration of one of the seven Ecumenical Councils, the high officials are wearing hats adorned with medallions bearing the bust of the emperor. In addition there is a significant number of portraits of courtiers wearing similar hats, cf. BABIĆ, *L'iconographie constantinopolitaine* 183–189, f. 4–11. The name of this hat is probably *skaranikon*, although some authors are not certain whether the term refers to a garment or a hat, cf. A. P. SMIRNOV, *Qu'est-ce que le σκαράνικον?* *Byz* 1 (1924) 726; A. GRABAR, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*. Paris 1936, 22–3; St. C. CARATZAS, *Byzantinogermanica* (καράνοϋς – σκαράνικον). *BZ* 47 (1954) 320–32; A. KAZHDAN, *Skaranikon*. *ODB* 1908–9.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. P. BERNARDAKIS, *Les ornements liturgiques chez les Grecs*. *EO* 5 (1901–1902) 129–39. The author thinks that the three liturgical colours are: black for the liturgy of the presanctified, red for fasting and mourning and white for feasts. Demetrios Chomatenos, in an explanation written to Nicholas Kabasilas, states that the *sakkos* should not be purple because purple is the colour of mourning. It is to be worn exclusively for Easter, the Pentecost and Christmas, cf. DU CANGE, *Glossarium Graecitatis*, *sub voce* – FOLLIERI, *op. cit.*, *sub voce* πορφύραν – Cf. Đ. TRIFUNOVIĆ, *Azbučnik srpskih srednjovekovnih književnih pojmova*. Beograd <sup>2</sup>1990, 210; I. ĐORDEVIĆ, *Sveti Hristofor u srpskom zidnom slikarstvu srednjeg veka*. *Zograf* 11 (1980), 66. The author quotes a part of the Life of St. Christophoros – *vī c(a)rskuju prēpr(u)du ōbagrennuju, ōt krīvīi tvoich m(u)č(e)niče. Krasno ōdējani n(y)nja Christofori nepobēdime*. – and thinks that Saint Christophoros, who is presented in the monastery of Lesnovo, is clad in the purple *chlamida* in accordance with the text, the robe coloured with his blood.



CATHERINE SALIOU

## The Byzantine House (400–912): Rules and Representations

“There was in Constantinople a man called Zeno, a professional rhetorician, who besides his other distinctions was a close acquaintance of the Emperor. He was a next-door neighbour of Anthemios [*scil.* the famous engineer Anthemios of Tralles], their two houses being joined to one another and built on the same area of ground. In the course of time rather strained relations and a certain amount of ill will developed between them, either because of some possibly unprecedented piece of prying, or because of the construction of some abnormally high annexe which blocked the light or for some other of the many reasons that inevitably bring next-door neighbours into conflict. Now Anthemios outmanœuvred in argument by his opponent’s legal skill and finding himself no match for him when it came to a battle of words, retaliated in the following manner by availing himself of his own professional expertise. Zeno had a fine, spacious and sumptuously decorated upper room, in which he loved to pass the time of day and entertain his close friends. The ground-floor rooms underneath, however, belonged to Anthemios’ part of the house, so that the ceiling of the one was the floor of the other. Here Anthemios filled some huge cauldrons with water and placed them at intervals in various part of the building. (...) Having secretly set up this apparatus he laid a fire under the base of each cauldron and kindled a powerful flame. As the water grew hot and boiled a great head of steam began to rise. Unable to escape, it rose up the pipes, building up the pressure as it went and subjecting the roof to a series of shocks until it shook the whole structure with just enough force to make the woodwork creak and wobble slightly. Zeno and his friends were terrified and ran panic-stricken into the streets with cries of horror and alarm. (...)” (Agathias, *Historiai* V 6,7–7,5 [KEYDELL], translation by J. D. FREND [CFHB II A]. Berlin–New York, 141–2).

This terrific story informs us about the standard of housing of the Upper Class in Constantinople in Justinian’s Age. The houses (*oikoi*) are so close to one another that any modification in one of them has consequences for the other. Moreover, “close” is not exactly the right word: actually the dwellings of Anthemios and Zeno are interlinked, and we have to imagine them as two flats, or two groups of rooms, in the same building. In such a context, “relations with one’s neighbours” are very important for daily life and well being, especially of course, in towns and cities<sup>1</sup>.

The aim of this paper is to study the image of the urban Byzantine house as given by the legal regulations concerning housing and neighbourship, from the Age of Theodosius (408–450) to the Age of Leo VI the Wise (866–912), or in other words from the *Codex Theodosianus* to the *Basilics* (=B)<sup>2</sup>. This covers the period from the urban prosperity of Late Antiquity to the beginning of the urban revival after the Dark Ages of the seventh to ninth centuries<sup>3</sup>.

In Classical Roman Law, the rights of the owner on his property are unlimited. However, in Roman private law a neighbour can have the right to make a certain use of another’s land or building. This right, which is attached to the land or building itself, regardless of the person who actually owns it, is called *servitus*. For

<sup>1</sup> See the examples quoted by Ch. BOURAS, Houses in Byzantium. *DChAE* IV 11 (1982–1983) 24–5.

<sup>2</sup> For useful introductions to the story of Byzantine Law, with reference to the available editions, see N. VAN DER WAL – J. H. A. LOKIN, *Historiae iuris graeco-romani delineatio*. Groningen 1982 and Sp. TROLANOS, *Οι πηγές του βυζαντινού δικαίου*. Athens 1986.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. RUSSELL, Transformations in Early Byzantine Urban Life: the Contribution and Limitations of Archaeological Evidence, in: XVII<sup>th</sup> International Byzantine Congress. Major papers. Washington, D.C. 1986, 137–54; C. MANGO, Transformations in Early Byzantine Urban Life: the Contribution and Limitations of Archaeological Evidence, in: XVII<sup>th</sup> International Byzantine Congress. Major papers. Washington 1986, 117–36; IDEM, *Le Développement urbain de Constantinople (IV<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> s.)*. Paris 1990; IDEM, *La vita in città*, in: *La civiltà bizantina. Oggetti e messaggio. Architettura e ambiente di vita (Università degli studi di Bari. Centro di studi bizantini. Corso di Studi VI, 1981)*. Roma 1993, 229–73 (although for Constantinople P. MAGDALINO, *Constantinople médiévale. Études sur l’évolution des structures urbaines*. Paris 1996 is less pessimistic).



instance the *servitus oneris ferendi* allows me to use the building or wall of my neighbour to support my own building. Moreover in the various cities of the Empire local rules exist concerning the construction<sup>4</sup>. On these local rules we have very little information.

In the *Codex Theodosianus* (a. 438), there is no proper chapter about private buildings. However, there are some pointers about this in the sections concerning public works and water supply (C. Th. 15, 1–2). One century later, Justinian publishes the *Institutiones* (= Inst.), the *Digesta* (both in 533) and the *Codex* (= C., first edition 529, second edition 534). In contrast to the *Codex Theodosianus*, the *Digesta* (= D.) and the *Institutiones*, the *Codex Iustinianus* contains a section specifically concerning private building<sup>5</sup>.

Actually, in the fifth and sixth centuries, the central administration shows an increasing interest in private construction. Probably after the fire of Constantinople in 462, the Emperor Leo I enacted rules for the reconstruction of the city. The scope of this enactment is very limited in space and time. It is partly known through a number of allusions made to in the “Law of Zeno”<sup>6</sup>: some years after, between 476 and 479<sup>7</sup>, the emperor Zeno enacted a more ambitious law concerning urban construction in Constantinople, especially the protection of light and of “view”, and the construction of balconies, as well as the arrangement of the shops along the main streets. In this law, the rights of the owners are limited: for instance, an owner is not allowed to build up a house if in doing so he blocks up the view of sea for his neighbour. But if there is a fixed rule between neighbours, it has the function of a dispensation, which is applied to derogate the law<sup>8</sup>. The Emperor Justinian decides in the year 531 to implement this law in all the Empire<sup>9</sup>. Justinian, himself, promulgates two novels which are complementary to Zeno’s Law, and which concern the view<sup>10</sup>.

In the fifth and the sixth centuries some unofficial Law Books are also compiled. The *Liber Syro-Romanus* was written originally in Greek in the fifth century, probably in Beirut<sup>11</sup>. The book of Julian of Ascalon (only partially conserved), was written in Palestine in the sixth century. As we read it today, it chiefly concerns private construction<sup>12</sup>.

The publication of the *Institutiones*, *Digesta* and *Codex Iustinianus* paved the way for a very dynamic production of pedagogical writings<sup>13</sup>. About this production concerning neighbourship and building, we know very little. However, some of this production comes to us via later legislative books (*Prochiron* = Pr., *Eisagoge*) and, for instance, through the *Epitome*, a non official compilation from around 920.

The Law Books of the seventh and eighth centuries<sup>14</sup> do not concern urban neighbourship. By contrast the legislative production from the reigns of Basil I and Leo VI testify to the interest of the jurists and legislators in this matter. The amplitude of the Macedonian project lay in its attempts to purify the law, by explicit abrogation of the null and void law; by drawing up official handbooks, which contain some legal innovations

<sup>4</sup> For Rome, enactment of Nero after the Great Fire of 64 (Tacitus, *Annales* XV, 43); elsewhere in the Empire: cf. C. 8. 10. 1 (C. SALIOU, *Les Lois des bâtiments*. Beyrouth 1994, 213).

<sup>5</sup> C. 8. 10: *De aedificiis priuatis*.

<sup>6</sup> C. 8. 10. 12. See for instance C. 8. 10. 12. 1a (SALIOU, *op. cit.* 222–3).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. SALIOU, *op. cit.* 283–284 and *passim*; M. F. CURSI, *Modus servitutis*. Napoli 1999, 346–57.

<sup>8</sup> C. 8. 10. 12. 4.

<sup>9</sup> C. 8. 10. 13.

<sup>10</sup> Nov. 63 (538); nov. 165 (date unknown).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. W. SELB, *Zur Bedeutung des syrisch-römischen Rechtsbuches*. München 1964; IDEM, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht, II: Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Westsyrier von den Anfängen bis zur Mongolenzeit*. Wien 1989, 138–9; new edition by W. SELB † – H. KAUFHOLD, *Das Syrisch-Römische Rechtsbuch, I: Einleitung, II: Texte und Übersetzungen, III: Kommentar (Österr. Akad. Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften 295)*. Wien 2002.

<sup>12</sup> Commented edition by C. SALIOU, *Le Traité d’urbanisme de Julien d’Ascalon (VI<sup>e</sup> s.)*. Droit et architecture en Palestine au VI<sup>e</sup> s. Paris 1996. See also now C. G. PITSAKIS, *Πόλεις και περιβάλλον στα βυζαντινά νομικά κείμενα*, in: Sp. TROIANOS – C.F. PITSAKIS, *Φυσικό και δομημένο περιβάλλον στις βυζαντινές νομικές πηγές*. Athens 1998, 65–162; IDEM, *Ο ιδιωτικός χώρος στη βυζαντινή νομική σκέψη*, in: *Synantese ton byzantinologon tes Hellados kai tes Kyprou*. Ioannina 1999, 53–69; C. SALIOU, *Julien d’Ascalon et la codification*, in: *La Codification des lois dans l’Antiquité. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg (novembre 1997)*. Paris 2000, 293–313; B.S. HAKIM, *Julian of Ascalon Treatise of Construction and Design Rules from Sixth Century Palestine*. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. March 2001, 4–25.

<sup>13</sup> H. J. SCHELTEMA, *L’Enseignement de droit des antécédents*. Leiden 1970.

<sup>14</sup> For instance *Nomos Georgikos* (ed. W. ASHBURNER in *JHSt* 30) or *Ecloga legum*, ed. L. BURGMANN (About these texts, cf. J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the seventh century*. Cambridge 1997, 254–64).

(*Prochiron*, *Eisagoge*); by updating the law with the Novels of Leo VI;<sup>15</sup> by translating and reorganizing the Justinianic works within the *Basilics*<sup>16</sup>. The existence of an unofficial production is also attested, for instance, by in a small book partly devoted to the neighbourhood, published some years ago<sup>17</sup>.

In the *Prochiron* and in the *Eisagoge*, there is a section with the heading *peri kainotomion*, concerning neighbourhood in urban and rural contexts. Excepting one chapter<sup>18</sup>, this section, in the *Prochiron* and in the *Eisagoge*, as published in Zepos' edition<sup>19</sup>, contain the same texts. They are mostly translations or summaries of the *Digesta*, *Codex*, or *Institutiones*. But in some cases, the difference between the text of the *Prochiron* or the *Eisagoge* and the supposed source<sup>20</sup>, or the lack of any source in the codification of Justinian<sup>21</sup> might either indicate an adaptation of Roman law, or an integration of custom in the law.

Leo VI promulgates two Novels concerning private housing. Nov. 71 prescribes a minimal distance between two buildings in rural context<sup>22</sup>. Nov. 113 prescribes a distance of ten feet between a balcony and whatever neighbouring building<sup>23</sup>. The whole of Book 58 of the *Basilics* is devoted to neighbourhood and private building. In title 11, title 10 of Book 8 of the *Codex* is repeated, to which are added Nov. 63 and 165 of Justinian, and (as an unique example in the *Basilics*) the Nov. 71 of Leo VI.

As documents about the realities of housing, the value of these juridical sources is very unequal. The first and longest part of the book of Julian of Askalon (as conserved)<sup>24</sup>, written in an unadorned style, contains numerous rules, most of which are settled in the locality of the Southern Levant. The author mentions building techniques, which are also mentioned in the Talmud<sup>25</sup>. He uses also some Greek words which could belong to local speech<sup>26</sup>. An actual case described in a letter of Prokopios of Gaza<sup>27</sup> is an illustration of chapters of the book concerning windows and light<sup>28</sup>. Due to its local and technical features, the book of Julian of Askalon is a very informative source for housing in Palestine during Late Antiquity, and it complements the archaeo-

<sup>15</sup> Cf. M.T. FÖGEN, Legislation und Kodifikation des Kaisers Leon VI. *Subseciva Groningana* 3 (1989) 23–35; J. H. A. LOKIN, The Novels of Leo and the Decisions of Justinian, in: *Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte. Athener Reihe = Analecta Atheniensia ad ius byzantinum spectantia* 1 (1997). Athens 1997, 131–40; Sp. TROIANOS, Die Novellen Leons VI., in: *op. cit.*, 141–54.

<sup>16</sup> The *Prochiron* and *Eisagoge* are not firmly dated, and the date and the status of the text known as the *Basilics* is also under debate. This debate is not our point. See the useful introduction in T. E. VAN BOCHOVE, *To Date and not to Date: on the Date and Status of Byzantine Law Books*. Groningen 1996.

<sup>17</sup> L. BURGMANN – D. SIMON, Ein unbekanntes Rechtsbuch. *FM* 1 (1976) 73–101.

<sup>18</sup> *Eisagoge* 39. 33 = D. 19. 1. 13 pr.

<sup>19</sup> *Jus Graco-Romanum (= JGR)*, ed. by J. and P. ZEPOS, II. Athens 1931 (in this edition the *Eisagoge* is entitled *Epanagoge*).

<sup>20</sup> Compare for instance D. 8. 2. 13 and *Prochiron* 38. 17: Οὔτε φοῦρνον οὔτε ἐστίαν ἐν τῷ ἐπικοίνῳ τοίχῳ δύναται τις ποιεῖν, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἐπικοῖνον τοίχον τὸ πῦρ καταβλάπτει (*Eisagoge* 39.14: Οὔτε φοῦρνον οὔτε ἐστίαν ἐν τῷ ἐπικοίνῳ τοίχῳ δύναται τις ποιεῖν). The supposed source is D. 8. 2. 13: (...) *non licet autem autem tubulos habere admotos ad parietem communem, sicuti ne parietem quidem suum per parietem communem: de tubulis eo amplius hoc iuris est, quod per eos flamma torretur paries*. The *Epitome* (*JGR* IV) gives both a version of D. 8. 2. 13 much closer of the original one (39. 72), and the text of the *Prochiron* (39. 100). Cf. Sp. TROIANOS, Υπήρχε προστασία του περιβάλλοντος στο Βυζάντιο, in: IDEM – PITSAKIS, *op. cit.* 49.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *Prochiron* 38. 23–4 (= *Eisagoge* 39. 22–3): Ἐάν τις γένηται χρεία ὑπαλλαγῆς ὁστράκων σωληναρίων τῶν καθεδρίων, ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου καθεδρίου ἀρξόμενος διορθώσθω μέχρι ἂν φθάσῃ γείτονος καθεδρίου. Τοὺς ὑπονομαίους καράβους οὕτως δεῖ καθαίρειν καὶ ἐπανορθοῦν ἀρξόμενος ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων τόπων, μέχρι ἂν φθάσῃ ἐτέρων ἐτεροδεσπότην τόπων ἡγουν χρηστηρίων (...). Although the sewers are the thema of a section of the *Digesta* (D. 43. 23), the only parallel is a passage of Julian of Askalon (§ 45): Χρὴ δὲ ἐν τῶν ὑπονόμων ἐπισκευῇ καὶ διορθώσει δέχεσθαι τὴν κατασκευὴν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων εἰς τὰς αὐλὰς τοὺς οἴκους. Cf. A. KARPOZELOS, Περὶ αποπάτων, βόθρων καὶ ὑπονόμων, in: *He kathemerine zoe sto Byzantio*. Athens 1989, 339–41.

<sup>22</sup> A. DAIN – P. NOAILLES, *Les Nouvelles de Léon le Sage*. Paris 1944, 256–7.

<sup>23</sup> DAIN – NOAILLES, *op. cit.* 372–5.

<sup>24</sup> § 1–51 (SALIOU).

<sup>25</sup> For instance SALIOU, *Traité d'urbanisme* 107–8, 111.

<sup>26</sup> For instance he uses the word ψήφωσις (mosaic; § 32), which is attested by the epigraphy above all in a Levantine context (SALIOU, *Traité d'urbanisme* 110). He uses also the very rare word ἱμάντωμα (§ 22–23) instead of the word ἱμάντωσις, as does the Gazaeon monk Dorotheus (VI<sup>th</sup> century; *Œuvres Spirituelles*, ed. by L. REGNAULT – J. DE FRÉVILLE. Paris 1963, Instructions, XIV, § 151, l. 31).

<sup>27</sup> *Ep.* 137 (GARZYA – LOENERTZ), quoted in SALIOU, *lois* 226–7.

<sup>28</sup> § 28–29 (SALIOU).

logical data<sup>29</sup>. It gives us an image of multi-storeyed apartment-houses (which are shared property) arranged around a central courtyard, and built with a timber framework.

In Imperial juridical literature, most features are inherited from Classical Antiquity<sup>30</sup>. However, some of our texts are laws enacted during the Byzantine period; in some cases they specifically concern Constantinople. They could be useful for our knowledge of the urban housing in Constantinople, about which we have very little archaeological data, although the literary sources let us know about groups of multi-storeyed buildings around a central court, including luxurious residences, flats, workshops, some amenities like a well, and even sometimes a little sanctuary<sup>31</sup>. Flats and workshops are often rented<sup>32</sup>.

The richest evidence supplied by the juridical source texts concerns the elevation of the houses, more precisely the windows and the balconies, but we have to be cautious in using this evidence.

Leo, and after him Zeno, draw a distinction between two types of windows;<sup>33</sup> the “panoramic” window, from which one can hang out (*parakryptike thyris*) and the light hole, which is a high level window, six feet above the floor (*photagogos thyris*). The word *parakryptikon* appears to be very rare<sup>34</sup>. Moreover, in the literary sources, the word *photagogos* is used to refer to all kinds of windows<sup>35</sup>. In this case, the making of the rule may be accompanied by the creation of a new typological vocabulary. We can suppose that in Constantinople, already before the law, there existed panoramic windows and high level windows, but we have to wonder whether the definition of each type was as precise as in the law of Zeno.

Balconies are well attested during the whole of Classical and Late Antiquity. In a law of Honorius and Theodosius<sup>36</sup> the term *exostes* is explicitly used as a translation of Latin *maenianum* (= balcony): “*Maeniana, quae Graece “exostas” appellant (...)*”. Actually, in the *Basilics*, the word is a translation of the Latin words *suggrunda*<sup>37</sup> or *maenianum*<sup>38</sup>. The form *exostes*, which is well attested in Classical Greek in other senses, might otherwise be attested with this meaning only in the juridical literature<sup>39</sup>, or in the lexicographical tradition<sup>40</sup>. The closest form to refer to a balcony attested in current language is *exostra*<sup>41</sup>. The use of the term *exostes* in our sources may be precious evidence of the everyday language of Constantinople, or no less precious evidence of the lexicographical inventiveness of Imperial jurists.

In the Law of Zeno, the word *exostes* alternates with the word *solarion*. This word is a transcription of the Latin *solarium*<sup>42</sup>, whose equivalent *eliakon* is well attested during the whole of the Byzantine period<sup>43</sup>, and it refers here to a terrace or open balcony. In his law, Zeno attempts to regulate the construction of such balconies<sup>44</sup>: through the norm appears the reality. The balconies should be ten feet distant one from another

<sup>29</sup> The archaeological and Talmudic data are collected by Y. HIRSCHFELD, *The Palestinian Dwelling in the Roman-Byzantine Period*. Jerusalem 1995. Cf. J.-P. SODINI, *Habitat de l'Antiquité Tardive*, 2. *Topoi* 7/2 (1997) 435–577.

<sup>30</sup> For instance, in the *Prochiron* mention is made of a cheese maker (38. 18), an inheritance of classical juridical literature. Actually this cheese maker was active in Italy, in Minturno, during the Augustean period (D. 8. 5. 8. 5). The reference is of no value for the Byzantine period.

<sup>31</sup> G. DAGRON, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*. Paris 1974, 503–4, 525–8; MANGO, *Development* 126–7. The important study of P. SCHREINER, *Das Haus in Byzanz nach den schriftlichen Quellen (Mit einem Exkurs über Häuserpreise)*, in: *Haus und Hof in ur- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit (Gedenkschrift für H. Jankuhn)*. Göttingen 1997, 277–320 focuses on later periods.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. E. PATLAGEAN, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance*. Paris 1977, 53 seqq.

<sup>33</sup> C. 8. 10. 12. 3: (...) θυρίδας κατασκευάζειν τὰς καλουμένας παρακρυπτικὰς καὶ φωταγωγοὺς κατὰ τὴν θεῖαν νομοθεσίαν (...).

<sup>34</sup> Actually, I was able to find it solely in the juridical literature later than Zeno's law (e. g. Julian of Askalon, § 26. 1–2; *Prochiron* 38. 4, 38. 10) and in the *De Cerimoniis* (numerous occurrences in Vogt's edition. Paris 1935–1939, vol. I, 96, 11; 144, 7, etc.).

<sup>35</sup> Cf. for instance, Lucian, *Symposium* 20; *Hippias* 7; Theodoret, *Historia religiosa* 3. 6. 5 (PARMENTIER).

<sup>36</sup> C. 8. 10. 11 (423).

<sup>37</sup> B. 60. 4. 5. 6 = D. 9. 3. 5. 6.

<sup>38</sup> B. 58. 8. 5. 6 = D. 43. 8. 2. 6; compare D. 50. 16. 242. 1 and B. 2. 2. 233.

<sup>39</sup> See also C. 8. 10. 12. 5, Julian of Askalon § 25, and *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, I. Wien 2001, s.v.

<sup>40</sup> See the index of the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinarum*, ed. by G. GOETZ. Leipzig, 1901, vol. 7.

<sup>41</sup> Symmachus, *IV Kings* I, 2; transcriptions of the Greek world in Talmudic literature (cf. HIRSCHFELD, *op. cit.* 266–7). The word ἐξώστρα appears in a papyrus from Petra (cf. L. KOENEN in *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 9 [1996] 186). The word ἐξωστάριον is also attested in Middle Byzantine sources (cf. *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, s. v.).

<sup>42</sup> The latin word has various meanings (cf. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford 2000, s.v.).

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Ph. KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινὸν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, IV. Athens 1951, 290; C. GIROS, *Remarques sur l'architecture monastique en Macédoine orientale*. *BCH* 116 (1992) 441, note 20.

<sup>44</sup> C. 8. 10. 12. 5.

and be built of good masonry. Exterior stairs giving access from the street to the balconies are prohibited. We may infer that the real balconies are very close to one another, made mostly of wood, connected to the street by stairs<sup>45</sup>.

Zeno also mentions another type of overhang, referred to by the word *basternion*: *ha kalousim hoi polloi basternia*<sup>46</sup>. This term is a transcription of the Latin word *basterna*, which means “litter” (as means of transport). Actually, when used in Greek the word refers mostly to a litter<sup>47</sup>. But in the *Basilics*<sup>48</sup>, using sources that go back to the sixth century, and in the *Epitome*<sup>49</sup>, it is used to translate the Latin *ius protegendi* (right to build on an overhang). In this sense *basternion* is synonymous with *exostes*. The word occurs also in Zeno’s law, as an everyday word, in a list of rooms (kitchen, toilets, stairways, passages), which are not concerned with the protection of the view<sup>50</sup>. In a chapter of the *Prochiron* which repeats Zeno’s Law<sup>51</sup>, the word *basternion* is explained with the words *parodos* and *diabatika* (passages). In the *Miracula Artemii*, *basternion* refers to a gallery connecting in some way a house to a street portico<sup>52</sup>. The word *basternion* refers, in everyday speech of Constantinople, to an overhang, probably closed, used as a gallery or passage. To imagine the urban landscape of Constantinople (at least from the fifth to seventh centuries), we have to take into account two types of overhang: on the one hand the open balconies, on the other hand some kind of closed exterior galleries.

Thus, the law can be used as a source for details about some features of Constantinopolitan houses. However, far richer is the evidence given by our sources concerning, not the realities of the housing, but the ideology of the notion of Well-Being in housing.

The idea of the view was already protected long before the beginning of the fifth century A.D., perhaps even from the time of the Republican period onwards. Roman Law took into account a taste for the view, well attested by literary sources and archaeology<sup>53</sup>. The importance of the view, above all a view of the sea, as part of comfort and luxury, is attested by the *Anthologia*, in some epigrams about houses in Constantinople<sup>54</sup>. A story in the *Patria*<sup>55</sup> indicates the great importance of the view for the identity of the house: when Constantine decided to rebuild in his new capital the residences of the Roman senators, he sent out architects whose charge was first to draw up the layout of their houses, but then also to examine their natural and urban context, so that the senators should have in Constantinople the same view as they would have enjoyed in Rome.

The ruling power takes an interest in this aspect of Well-Being<sup>56</sup>. In any case, Zeno prescribes a distance of ten or twelve feet between two buildings, unless one building blocks up the view on the sea for the other: the view on the sea is automatically protected by law, and it is prohibited to block it up, except if there is between the two buildings a distance of a hundred feet, or if there is some dispensation, or if the view concerns only service-rooms of the house<sup>57</sup>. Nov. 63 of Justinian shows that Zeno’s law, and especially the hun-

<sup>45</sup> SALIOU, lois 260–1.

<sup>46</sup> C. 8. 10. 12. 4a.

<sup>47</sup> Passio S. Pelagiae (BHG 1480), ed. H. USENER, *Legenden der Pelagia*. Bonn 1879, 19, 1; Vita S. Matronae (BHG 1221), AASS Nov. III 801c and 807e; John Chrysostomus, In Acta Apost. 45 (PG 60, 320, 7); the meaning of the word is less obvious in *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum*, ed. by Fr. CUMONT, I. Bruxelles 1898, 103.

<sup>48</sup> B. 58. 2. 2. = D. 8. 2. 2.

<sup>49</sup> *Epitome* 38. 48.

<sup>50</sup> C. 8. 10. 12. 4.

<sup>51</sup> *Prochiron* 38.6 = *Eisagoge* 39.4.

<sup>52</sup> Miracle 21, ed. A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Varia Graeca Sacra*. St-Peterburg 1909 (Reprint Leipzig 1975) 27, 6 and now V. S. CRISAFULLI – J. W. NESBITT, *The Miracles of St Artemios*. Leiden–New York–Köln 1997, 128, 6: (...) τὸ βαστέρνιον τὸ ἀπ<ὸ> τῶν Βιβιανοῦ εἰς τὸν ἀντικρυς ἔμβολον ἀπάγον. The translation given by Crisafulli (“litter-facility”) is unconvincing.

<sup>53</sup> SALIOU, lois 232–5.

<sup>54</sup> *Anthologia Palatina* IX 808 (by Cyros, consul in 441): Τρισσόθεν εισορώ πολυτερπέα νῶτα θαλάσσης, παντόθεν ἡματίῳ φέγγει βαλλόμενος; Anth. IX 651 (by Paulos Silentiarios); Anth. IX 653 (by Agathias Scholastikos).

<sup>55</sup> *Patria* I, § 63–66, in: *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, ed. by Th. PREGER. Leipzig 1901, 146–7.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. TROIANOS, προστασία 42–3.

<sup>57</sup> C. 8. 10. 12. 2–4.



dred-foot rule, was enforced in the sixth century. This part of the law is repeated in the *Prochiron*<sup>58</sup>, the *Eisagoge*<sup>59</sup> and the *Basilics*<sup>60</sup>.

Nevertheless, on closer examination, some hesitation in the rules can be discerned. In the law of Zeno, the only view to be protected is the view of the sea<sup>61</sup>. However, in a text of unknown origin transmitted with the extracts of Julian of Askalon<sup>62</sup>, three views are mentioned: those of the sea (§ 52); of gardens and trees (§ 53); and of urban monuments (§ 54). Moreover, Zeno specifies that the view of the trees was not protected by the law of Leo, is not protected and has not to be protected<sup>63</sup>. It is perhaps much too hazardous to hypothesise that this sentence of Zeno is a denial of a rule enacted between the law of Leo and his own law, for instance by the usurper Basiliskos (January 475–Summer 476), and to suppose that the text we read in the book of Julian of Askalon might be attributed to Basiliskos<sup>64</sup>. Nevertheless, the comparison between these texts shows that a debate on the type of view to be protected may have existed. This debate (at least as an intellectual debate), did not end with Zeno's law: another text transmitted in the book of Julian of Askalon (§ 56), which contains a reference to Zeno's Law, concerns the view over mountains<sup>65</sup>.

Our texts distinguish between three types of view: the front view (*eutheia*); the oblique view (*plagia*); and the forced view (*bebiasmene*). However, for Zeno, the oblique and the forced view are one and the same thing<sup>66</sup>. For Zeno, as in the text already mentioned transmitted with the extracts of Julian of Askalon (§ 52), only the front view is protected. For Justinian in Novel 165, protection is afforded to not only the front view, but also the oblique view. The text of the *Basilics* may testify to an attempt to conciliate Zeno's Law and Justinian's novel. Here the protection afforded concerns the front and the oblique, but not constraint, view<sup>67</sup>.

Another debate centres on the area of implementation of the sea-view rule. Zeno's Law is addressed to the Prefect of Constantinople. In 531, Justinian decides to implement the Law in all the Empire. Nov. 165, which concerns the protection of the view of the sea, is addressed at Dominicus. Dominicus was Prefect of Illyricum from 535 up to 540. Due to the conditions of transmission of the Novel, we have to surmise that it was originally in Latin<sup>68</sup>. One can infer that the Novel was addressed to Dominicus as Prefect of Illyricum, and by the way that the view on the sea was to be protected in all the Empire. But in the *Prochiron*, as in the *Basilics*, this part of the Law of Zeno concerns only Constantinople<sup>69</sup>. Sometime between the sixth century and the end of the ninth century, it was decided that the view of the sea had to be protected only in the capital<sup>70</sup>. In the middle of the eleventh century, Eustathios Rhomaïos will explain this restriction by pointing out the uniqueness of Constantinople in the Byzantine Empire<sup>71</sup>.

The taste for the view, as we have seen, has deep roots in Classical Antiquity. By contrast, the importance given to the privacy could be a novelty. The need for privacy by the people of Late Antiquity is shown by a text transmitted with the extracts of Julian of Askalon (§ 55). This is similar in style to the texts dealing with views already mentioned. The author of this text criticises bitterly the attempt made by some people to protect their privacy by prohibiting their neighbours to build close to their houses, and it points out the newness of this type of consideration. There is a large contrast between this text and the Law of Zeno, where, for instance,

<sup>58</sup> Pr. 38. 4, 38. 8.

<sup>59</sup> *Eisagoge* 39. 2, 39. 5.

<sup>60</sup> B. 58. 11. 11. 2–4.

<sup>61</sup> C. 8. 10. 12. 2a.

<sup>62</sup> The second part of the book of Julian of Askalon (§ 52–56) contains texts of very different style, much more pretentious than the first part (§ 1–51), and concerning the themes of “view” and “privacy”. About this group of texts, see SALIOU, traité d'urbanisme 27–8. For a first study of their content, see EADEM, lois 239–47 and 250–1.

<sup>63</sup> C. 8. 10. 12. 2b.

<sup>64</sup> H. J. SCHELTEMA, The Nomoi of Iulianos of Ascalon, in: *Symbolae ad ius et historiam antiquitatis pertinentes Julio Christiano van Oven dedicatae*. Leiden 1946, 352–6.

<sup>65</sup> Full discussion of this text in PITSAKIS, Πόλεις και περιβάλλον, in: TROIANOS – PITSAKES, *op. cit.* 145–8 (with bibliography).

<sup>66</sup> C. 8. 10. 12. 2a.

<sup>67</sup> B. 58. 11. 11. 2.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. P. NOAILLES, Les Collections de nouvelles de l'empereur Justinien, I. Paris 1912, 131–2, 179–81; IDEM, Les Collections de nouvelles de l'empereur Justinien, II. Paris 1914, 35, 118.

<sup>69</sup> Pr. 38. 4 ; B. 58. 11. 12.

<sup>70</sup> See also the comment of PITSAKIS, Πόλεις και περιβάλλον 148–50.

<sup>71</sup> *Peira* 18. 5 (*JGR* V 69). Cf. TROIANOS, Προστασία του περιβάλλοντος 43.



the protection of privacy is the reason for the prohibition about opening up panoramic windows where the distance from the neighbour is less than twelve feet. In the same way, the protection of privacy is more or less explicit in some prescriptions of the book of Julian of Askalon (§ 26.2; § 30.1). The very importance of privacy in Late Antiquity and in Byzantium is well attested also by literary sources<sup>72</sup>.

We do not know in Classical Roman law of any type of *servitus* affecting privacy, either by prohibiting or by giving the right to look into the neighbour's house. In Late Antiquity, the prescriptions of Zeno's Law could explain the development of a new type of fixed rule. This perhaps appears in Justinian's *Institutiones*<sup>73</sup> (*ius prospiciendi*), but much more surely in the Greek translation of the *Institutiones* by Theophilos<sup>74</sup>. Theophilos mentions a *servitus* (*douleia*) giving the right to look out onto the neighbour's property (*dikaion moi prosesti tou katopteuein me se*). Such *servitus* is a dispensation. On the one hand, there is a systematic protection of privacy by way of prescription of a minimal distance between two buildings. On the other hand, this dispensation allows one to build a house or to open up windows, even if the distance away from the neighbour is less than twelve feet.

Nov. 113 of Leo concerns the balconies. Its explicit aim is to give precision to and to correct the law already cited, of Honorius and Theodosius<sup>75</sup>, and the Law of Zeno, by defining a minimal distance, not between two balconies as in the existing laws, but between a balcony and whatever other building. The prescription of nov. 113 is built into B. 58. 11. 10. This chapter of the *Basilics* is more an adaptation than a translation of C. 8. 10. 11. The very focus of the novel is the necessity to protect privacy. In fact, the balconies are very ambiguous: on the one hand, provided to enjoy the sun and the view, they are essential for a nice daily life; on the other hand, they are a menace in regard to protecting the privacy of the neighbour. In this way they are a good example of the need for a neighbourhood relationship regulation.

“Rien ne se perd, rien ne se crée, tout se transforme”. This sentence might conclude this paper. Nevertheless, in matters of neighbourship, Zeno's Law appears to be really the beginning of a new era. Moreover, despite the importance of tradition and inheritance in Byzantine law, the norms concerning housing and neighbourhood give us an image of some features of the houses, and include a representation of what might or perhaps even should be considered as “Well-Being” at home.

*(I thank wholeheartedly Professor A. Muthesius for helping me to improve a first English version of this paper. I wish also to thank Françoise and Jean-François Boggio).*

<sup>72</sup> BOURAS, Houses 24–5; TROIANOS, *op. cit.* 59 (with further bibliography).

<sup>73</sup> Inst. IV, 6, 2.

<sup>74</sup> Inst. Theoph. IV, 6, 2 (*JGR* III 227).

<sup>75</sup> C. 8. 10. 11.



LILIANA V. SIMEONOVA

## Magic and the Warding-off of Barbarians in Constantinople, 9<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> Centuries

In the Middle Ages, magic was the crossing point at which popular beliefs and those of the educated classes intersected<sup>1</sup>. It was the recognition by the higher religions of the existence of spirits, or demons, that furnished a basis for the belief in magic. Despite the negative attitude assumed by Judaism, Christianity and Islam towards everything not sanctioned by their own monotheistic teachings, the belief in magic was widely spread in medieval societies. The elite writers in most countries seemed to share the same negative attitude toward magic. Yet it was admitted, not only into the tales of wonder and delight, but also into the works of serious writers, who described various spells as well as the practices against which these spells were directed<sup>2</sup>.

In Christian societies, the clergy shared the masses' belief in demons, the latter being perceived as servants of the Devil<sup>3</sup>. However, while making a sustained effort to fight the demons, the clergy engaged in certain practices, such as the recital of formulae and the performance of rituals of exorcism, that practically erased the thin dividing line between religion and magic<sup>4</sup>.

Magic is said to have stemmed from the belief in certain "animistic principles". Thus, people believed that things throughout nature had spirits or personalities dwelling in them and that, through practising magic, one could exert influence on those spirits<sup>5</sup>. Further, the so-called sympathetic magic was based on the assumption that things act on one another through a secret link<sup>6</sup>. An enemy could, therefore, be destroyed or injured by destroying or injuring an image of them. This was magic in one of its most popular forms in the Middle Ages. While, in modern scholarship, the making of talismans, charms and amulets is attributed to witchcraft whereas the mutilation of effigies is attributed to magic, medieval people did not distinguish sharply between witchcraft and magic. What mattered was that they needed to do something in order to ward off evil<sup>7</sup>.

In Constantinople, the practice of sympathetic magic led to the mutilation or destruction of antique statues commonly believed to be inhabited by unclean spirits. While, in early Byzantium, emperors brought pagan art from the four corners of the Roman Empire for the purpose of decorating and legitimizing the new capital, in the following centuries the populace "endowed" some of the antique statuary with "magical" qualities<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> R. KIECKHEFER, *Magic in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge – New York 1990, 1–18.

<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. J. HASTINGS, vol. VIII. Edinburgh – New York 1967, 245–52. See also *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, ed.-in-chief M. ELIADE, vol. IX. New York – London 1987, 81–115.

<sup>3</sup> J. B. RUSSELL, *Lucifer. The Devil in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca – London 1984. On the phylacteria, which the Byzantines used in order to protect themselves against the Devil and his demons, see Th. M. PROVATAKIS, *O διάβολος εις την βυζαντινήν τέχνην*. Thessalonica 1980, 287–306.

<sup>4</sup> A. GOUREVITCH, *Narodnaja magija i cerkovnyi ritual*, in: *Mekhanizmy kul'tury*, ed. B. A. USPENSKY. Moscow 1990, 3–27. At least in theory, there was a contrast in attitude toward the supernatural. According to the religious concept, the seat of power rests outside the sphere of man's control. Magic, on the other hand, is said to be present wherever power over the unseen is believed to be within the control of the person who performs the ritual. See *Reader in Comparative Religion: an Anthropological Approach*, eds. W. A. LESSA – E. Z. VOGT. New York 1979, 332–62.

<sup>5</sup> KIECKHEFER, *Magic* 13.

<sup>6</sup> This kind of magic is supposed to work by a "secret sympathy", or symbolic likeness, between the cause and the effect. See J. G. FRAZER, *The Golden Bough*. London 1913, 54.

<sup>7</sup> On the definitions of, and distinctions between, amulets, guardian statues, phylacteria, talismans, and apotropaia, see C. A. FARAONE, *Talismans and Trojan Horses. Guardian Statues in Ancient Greek Myth and Ritual*. New York – Oxford 1992, 3–7.

<sup>8</sup> C. MANGO, *Antique Statuary Art and the Byzantine Beholder*. *DOP* 17 (1963) 55–75 (reprinted in: IDEM, *Byzantium and Its Image*. London, 1984, X): Byzantine attitudes toward pagan statuary art should normally be considered at two levels: the popular and the intellectual; patriarchs and emperors, however, often shared the popular beliefs in the sympathetic properties of certain pagan statues. See also *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century. The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*. Introduction, Translation and Commentary by A. CAMERON and J. HERRIN (*Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition* 10). Leiden 1984, 31–4.

As time went on, a rich folklore grew up around the pagan statues, especially the ones that were believed to be bewitched.

In the popular mind, some of those statues fulfilled useful purposes. They were believed to be able to detect unchaste wives and unfaithful husbands, or to pass sentences upon criminals; or they “acted” as pest-repellents; or, at night, they “swept” the streets and “ate” refuse, in an attempt to clean the city<sup>9</sup>. The superstitious re-interpretation of pagan sculpture was, in certain cases, paralleled by a Christian re-interpretation. As a result, in the middle Byzantine period, some pagan statues were identified as biblical personages (e.g., Solomon, Joshua the son of Nun, and others)<sup>10</sup>.

The statue-lore of Constantinople also bears testimony to the populace’s fears of foreign invasion as those fears were felt at all levels of Constantinopolitan society. Thus, some inscriptions on the pedestals of statues were believed to contain predictions about the fate of Constantinople<sup>11</sup>. There were also statues that appeared as the magical doubles of prominent individuals, as well as of entire nations<sup>12</sup>.

In earlier publications of mine, I have discussed certain statues that were regarded as being the city talismans of the middle-Byzantine Constantinople<sup>13</sup>. That statues may receive talismanic powers and thus become capable of averting “barbaric” invasion, was a belief, which the Byzantines had inherited from their Hellenistic-Roman predecessors. Thus, the fifth-century historian Olympiodoros of Thebes tells an interesting story, which shows that he and his contemporaries shared their Roman predecessors’ belief in the magical qualities of statues. In the days of Emperor Konstantios (337–361), three silver statues were excavated in some old pagan sanctuary in the province of Thrace. They had been buried there in a “barbaric fashion”, with their heads pointing to “the barbarians’ land”, their hands tied up at the back. All three figures had a “barbaric” dress and hairstyle. The emperor ordered that the statues be removed from their burial place. No sooner had the provincial governor removed them, than Goths, Huns, and Sarmatians invaded the Empire. “It seems – writes Olympiodoros – that each statue had been designated to avert an attack by one of these tribes”<sup>14</sup>. Emperor Konstantios should have known better than to deprive a frontier zone of its supernatural protection.

In the middle Byzantine period, we know of at least one statue that was seen as a talisman protecting Constantinople from “barbarians” and “schismatics”; presumably the Latins. This was a porphyry column with a bronze statue at its summit, that was erected in Constantine’s *forum*; it was one of the honorific columns of Constantine the Great. The bronze Constantine had a radiate crown consisting of seven rays, which were later re-interpreted as the “nails of the Crucifixion”. In 1106, the statue was smashed and replaced by a cross<sup>15</sup>. C. Mango points at the existence of two apocalyptic texts, a Daniel revelation (*ca.* 716/17) and the revelation of St. Andrew the Fool, which represent Constantine’s Column as the only monument of Constantinople that was destined to survive the ultimate destruction of that city. According to the *Apocalypse* of St Andrew the Fool, the reason why the column was to be preserved until the end of time was because it possessed the Holy Nails<sup>16</sup>.

Another monument, the famous Serpent Column standing in the Hippodrome may have been regarded as a talisman as well. It may have been “protecting” the city from the Satan Serpent (Rev 20:2), that is, the

<sup>9</sup> G. DAGRON, Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des «Patria» (*Bibliothèque byzantine, Études* 9). Paris 1984, 127–90.

<sup>10</sup> MANGO, Statuary Art 63.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanum*, ed. T. PREGER, vol. II. Leipzig 1907, 176. Cf. A. BERGER, Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinopoleos (*Poikila Byzantina* 8). Bonn 1988.

<sup>12</sup> MANGO, Statuary Art 59.

<sup>13</sup> L. SIMEONOVA, Ta Patria: Talismanite na Konstantinopol prez X vek, in: *Srednovekovnite Balkani. Politika, Religija, Kultura*. Sofia 1999, 49–66. See also EADEM, Constantinopolitan Attitudes toward Aliens and Minorities, 860s – 1020s. Part One. *Études Balkaniques* 37 (2001) 91–112, esp. 105–7.

<sup>14</sup> Olympiodoros Thebanus, De Gothorum et Hunnorum irruptione, in: L. DINDORF, *Historici graeci minores*. Leipzig 1870, vol. I, 461,1–25.

<sup>15</sup> DAGRON, Constantinople imaginaire 44–6; C. MANGO, Constantine’s Column, in: IDEM, *Studies on Constantinople*. Aldershot 1993, III.

<sup>16</sup> C. MANGO, Constantine’s Porphyry Column and the Chapel of St. Constantine. *DChAE* Ser. 4, 10 (1981) 103–10 (reprinted in: IDEM, *Studies on Constantinople*, IV).

Muslim unbeliever<sup>17</sup>. Above all, however, its talismanic powers served to protect the city from snakes. As has been noted by Th. Madden, the column began to attract the attention of foreigners, both travellers and pilgrims, in the late Byzantine period<sup>18</sup>. Ignaty of Smolensk, a Russian pilgrim who visited Constantinople around 1390, says that the Serpent Column is full of venom<sup>19</sup>. Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, who visited Constantinople in October 1403, gives a clear picture of the statue's role as a talisman. "They say – writes de Clavijo – that these figures of serpents were set up here to serve for an enchantment, because in times past there was a plague of serpents and other noisome reptiles who killed many people by their venom. Then a certain emperor living at that age caused by means of this figure an enchantment to be effected, whereby forthwith and ever after in Constantinople no serpent could harm no one."<sup>20</sup> Another Russian traveller, Zosim the Deacon, who visited the city about twenty years later, says that "serpent venom is sealed in them [i. e., the three asps], and if anyone is stung by a snake inside the city and he touches this, he is cured. But if it is outside the city, there is no cure."<sup>21</sup>

What remains to be seen is how the populace of the middle-Byzantine Constantinople tried to ward off "barbarians" by resorting to the "magical properties" of bewitched statues. In the second quarter of the ninth century, the Iconoclast Patriarch John the Grammarian (834–843) is said to have saved the Empire from a "barbaric" invasion, by cutting off the heads of a tri-headed bronze statue, which was located in the Hippodrome. Each of the three heads personified a certain "barbaric" chieftain. As two of the statue's heads were completely severed from the body, and the third one was only partially cut off, two of the "barbaric" chiefs were later killed in battle while the third one, seriously wounded, managed to escape. The "barbaric" invasion was thus averted<sup>22</sup>.

In the year 927, as Simeon of Bulgaria (893–927) was preparing to launch his third attack on Constantinople, Emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (920–944) decided to take the advice of a certain astrologer and to have a statue standing on the *Xerolophos*, smashed. One night, the statue that was believed to be the effigy of Simeon, was beheaded. In this moment, the Bulgarian ruler, who was hundreds of miles away, was suddenly possessed by insanity and died of a heart attack. Constantinople was saved<sup>23</sup>.

How Byzantines tried to destroy the enemy by exploiting the law of sympathy can also be seen from Emperor Manuel Komnenos' reaction to the unexpected fall of a statue. Niketas Choniates writes that, in the *forum* of Constantine, there were two statues: one was called *Ougrissa* ("the Hungarian Woman"), the other *Rhomaia* ("the Roman Woman"). While Manuel I (1147–1180) was preparing to set out against the Hungarians, "the Roman woman" was overthrown from its upright position. "The Hungarian", however, remained erect. The emperor interpreted this as a bad omen and ordered that the "Roman" be raised up and the "Hungarian" be pulled down and overturned, thinking that by transposing the statues' positions, he could reverse the outcome of the events<sup>24</sup>.

The Crusaders of the Fourth Crusade were not immune to the Greek beliefs in the magical powers of the city talismans. After capturing Constantinople, they took care to destroy the *palladia* of the city<sup>25</sup>, and especially those, which they learned had been set up by the Greeks against their race<sup>26</sup>. Among the statues, which they smashed and melted, there was a brazen equestrian statue. In the rider some Greeks identified Bellerophon, others Joshua, the son of Nun. But everybody believed that, under the horse's left hoof, there was

<sup>17</sup> SIMEONOVA, *Patria* 57–8. See also EADEM, *Foreigners in Tenth-Century Byzantium: A Contribution to the History of Cultural Encounter*, in: *Strangers to Themselves. The Byzantine Outsider*, ed. D. C. SMYTHE (*SPBS Publications* 8). Aldershot 2000, 229–44, esp. 240–2.

<sup>18</sup> Th. E. MADDEN, *The Serpent Column of Delphi in Constantinople: Placement, Purpose, and Mutilations*. *BMGS* 16 (1992) 111–45.

<sup>19</sup> G. P. MAJESKA, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (*DOS* 19). Washington, D.C. 1984, 164.

<sup>20</sup> G. LE STRANGE, *Embassy to Tamerlane 1403–1406*. London 1928, 71.

<sup>21</sup> MAJESKA, *Travelers* 184.

<sup>22</sup> Theophanes Continuatus, Pseudo-Symeon, both ed. by I. BEKKER. Bonn 1838, 155ff., 649ff.; George Kedrenos, ed. I. BEKKER. Bonn 1839, II 145ff. Cf. MANGO, *Statuary Art* 61.

<sup>23</sup> Theoph. Cont. 411.17–412.8 (BEKKER). On Simeon's conflict with the Empire, see J. SHEPARD, *Bulgaria: The Other Balkan 'Empire'*, in: *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. III., ed. Th. REUTER. Cambridge 2000, 566–87.

<sup>24</sup> Niketas Choniates, *Historia*. Ed. J.-L. van DIETEN (*CFHB* 11). Berlin 1975, 151.65–74. Cf. *O City of Byzantium. Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. by H. J. MAGOULIAS. Detroit 1984, 86.

<sup>25</sup> On the definition of guardian statues, and especially *palladia*, see FARAONE, *op. cit.*, 5–7.

<sup>26</sup> Choniates, *Hist.* 643 (VAN DIETEN); MAGOULIAS 353.



buried a figurine. According to some, it was the image of a certain Venetian while others claimed that it was of a member of some other Western nation, or a Bulgarian. When the Latins removed the sole of the horse's hoof with hammers, they found lying underneath the image of a man dressed in the kind of cloak that is woven from sheep's wool. The figurine was pierced through with a nail and wholly covered by lead. On seeing this, the majority conjectured that the image was of a Bulgarian.<sup>27</sup> Most likely, it had been buried there in a rite of black magic, which aimed to cause harm to a powerful Bulgarian ruler, who posed a threat to the Empire<sup>28</sup>.

As we have seen, in order to neutralize the barbaric demoniacs threatening their lives, the populace of Constantinople mutilated or destroyed statues commonly believed to be inhabited by the evil spirit of one enemy or another. Or, they endowed statues with talismanic powers by the insertion of certain substances into their cavities, and by burning incense before them.

The belief that some statues were bewitched, seems to have existed at all levels of society, among the common people and the elite. Byzantine emperors and patriarchs shared the masses' beliefs in the supernatural. In as much as the danger of an enemy attack on the Empire could be averted through the destruction or mutilation of a statue, they did not hesitate to put the prescribed magical rites into practice.

The Church, no doubt, regarded sorcery and divination as dangerous. Yet the universally shared belief in the existence of demons led the ruling elite and the high-ranking clergy to condone the use of magic, especially in cases when the sorceries were to be exercised on the effigy of an enemy of the Roman people.

For the sake of comparison, it is worth mentioning that the same dichotomy was reflected in the Byzantines' attitude toward astrology. While unauthorized occultism was regarded as detestable to God and the Church condemned it as a "black art", the imperial court had its official astrologers and the city of Constantinople was believed to have had at least two horoscopes made at the request of emperors<sup>29</sup>.

In short, the dividing line between the magical practices, which were condemned by the Church, and those, which it tacitly sanctioned, was very thin. What mattered was that the Well-Being and safety of the populace of Constantinople were guaranteed, whether through the protection of saints or through the agency of other supernatural forces.

<sup>27</sup> Choniates, *Hist.* 643, 649 (VAN DIETEN); MAGOULIAS 353, 358.

<sup>28</sup> P. ANGELOV, *Bălgarija i bălgarite v predstavite na vizantijskite, VII–XIV vek.* Sofia 1999, 59. ANGELOV believes that the effigy was most likely that of Tsar Kalojan (1197–1207). On the rite whereby a statue received magical powers, see MANGO, *Statuary Art* 61.

<sup>29</sup> G. DAGRON – J. PARAMELLE, *Un texte patriographique, le Récit merveilleux, très beau et profitable sur la colonne de Xérolaphos* (Vindob. suppl. gr. 171. fol. 43v–63v). *TM* 7 (1979) 491–523: a 16th-century legendary account of the horoscope of the city of Byzantium, which an astrologer made at the request of Emperor Septimius Severus. Cf. A. A. VASILIEV, *Medieval Ideas of the End of the World: East and West. Byz* 16 (1942/43) 462–502, see esp. 459: a 12th-century account of the horoscope, which was allegedly made at the request of Constantine the Great.

DIONYSIOS STATHAKOPOULOS

## To Have and to Have not: Supply and Shortage in the Centres of the Late Antique World

The period of 'long Late Antiquity', extending from Diocletian's ascent to power in 284 to the eighth century, saw the Late Roman / Early Byzantine Empire gradually reaching its widest expansion and its highest population density only, subsequently, to experience a sharp decline in both.<sup>1</sup> As such, this period is quite rewarding for the study of supply, or the lack of it. It incorporates within the same system of production and distribution, at first a growing and then a declining phase, which can give us a clear picture of these mechanisms at work, both at their best and at their worst.

Grain and the chief product made from it, bread, were the staple foods of the Mediterranean world<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, the main concern of the system of supply was directed towards bread. Villages and towns had to rely for their provisions on their immediate hinterlands. Larger cities, however, especially Rome and Constantinople, had to import grain – and other goods – from further away on a regular basis<sup>3</sup>. This was an extremely costly enterprise, which was only made possible through state financing. Since the time of the late Roman republic, the state imported and distributed a large quantity of bread to the citizens of Rome<sup>4</sup>. This measure was taken up by Constantine I for his new capital, Constantinople, and it continued to be practised up to the time of the loss of Egypt to the Arabs in the mid seventh century, as this province was the chief grain producing region of the Empire<sup>5</sup>.

It is a fact that social and economic standing directly affect both the quantity and the quality of food that is accessible to any individual<sup>6</sup>. This has been true for the whole human history and we need not give examples to illustrate this any further. The economically weaker strata of Late Antiquity were certainly "food short", that is they were lacking absolute resources due to environment, politics or other socioeconomic factors.<sup>7</sup> Other parameters were also significant in the supplying of food or the lack of it. They affected not only those who were unable to purchase food, because of their economic situation, but they also had a negative effect on whole communities and regions, often breaking down the boundaries of social and economic standing. In short we will deal with those cases where the system of supply broke down.

<sup>1</sup> P. CHARANIS, Observations on the Demography of the Byzantine Empire, in: Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Main Papers XIV. Oxford 1966, 1–19; J. KODER, Der Lebensraum der Byzantiner, Nachdruck mit bibliogr. Nachträgen (*Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, Ergänzungsband 1N*). Vienna 2001, 150–54.

<sup>2</sup> J. MCCORRISTON, Wheat, in: The Cambridge History of Food, eds. K. F. KIPPLE – K. CONEË ORNELAS, I. Cambridge 2000, 158–74; R. SALLARES, The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World. Ithaca, NY 1991, 313–72; J. KODER, Gemüse in Byzanz (*Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, Ergänzungsband 3*). Vienna 1993, 15–25; P. GARNSEY, Food and Society in Classical Antiquity (*Key Themes in Ancient History*). Cambridge 1999, 12–21.

<sup>3</sup> P. HERZ, Studien zur römischen Wirtschaftsgesetzgebung: Die Lebensmittelversorgung (*Historia Einzelschriften 55*). Stuttgart 1988; B. SIRKS, Food for Rome: The Legal Structure of the Transportation and Processing of Supplies for the Imperial Distributions in Rome and Constantinople (*Studia Amstelodamensia ad Epigraphicam, Ius antiquum et Papyrologicam pertinentia 32*). Amsterdam 1991; J. DURLIAT, De la ville antique à la ville Byzantine: Le problème des subsistances (*Collection de l'école française de Rome 136*). Rome 1990.

<sup>4</sup> P. GARNSEY, Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World: Responses to Risk and Crisis. Cambridge 1988, 208–17.

<sup>5</sup> G. DAGRON, Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451 (*Bibliothèque byzantine, Études 7*). Paris 1974, 518–41; C. MANGO, Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe–VIIe siècles) (*Travaux et mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Monographies 2*). Paris 1985; J. DURLIAT, L'approvisionnement de Constantinople, in: Constantinople and its Hinterland, eds. C. MANGO – G. DAGRON (*SPBS, Publications 3*). Aldershot 1993, 19–33.

<sup>6</sup> See P. GARNSEY, Food and Society, 113–43.

<sup>7</sup> According to the typology developed by the World Hunger Programme at Brown University; cf. P. UVIN, The State of World Hunger, in: P. UVIN, The Hunger Report 1993. Yverdon 1994, 1–48, esp. 1, 7, 10, 16 and E. MESSER, Hunger Vulnerability From an Anthropologists Food System Perspective, in: Transforming Societies, Transforming Anthropology, ed. F. MORAN. Ann Arbor 1996, 242–58; S. R. HOLMAN, The Hungry Body: Famine, Poverty, and Identity in Basil's Hom. 8. *Journal of Early Christian Studies 7* (1999) 356–7.

We will set our investigation against two axes. The first one is spatial. It has to do with the way geography imposes limitations and creates inequality between more and less favourable locations. It divides the Mediterranean world in two parts: coastal and mainland; the first easily and swiftly accessible, which translates into less expensively supplied for. The second part, the cities of the mainland, demanded more effort, more technical means and more time to be supplied with food. The higher costs that ensued in this transaction were often responsible for the delay and sometimes the fallout of provisions altogether<sup>8</sup>.

The second axis is a social, or to be more precise an administrative one. Regardless of their position in space important political and economic centres were supplied with food at any cost. The most prominent position in this category is naturally taken by the capitals of the Empire: the Old and the New Rome. We will show how the need to furnish them with food constituted an absolute priority of the Imperial government, regardless of the possible shortages such a move would cause to the supplies for urban centres of lesser importance.

Moving in time through these two axes we can expect to view the system of food supply in a more fragmented but differentiated manner that will hopefully do justice to the reality of Late Antiquity.

In 368–369 a severe drought-induced famine ravaged Cappadocia and Phrygia, prompting Basil of Caesarea to deliver his sermon known as ‘Homily delivered in times of famine and drought’<sup>9</sup>. Although he describes the climatic conditions that led to the famine quite extensively, nevertheless this seems to have been a “market crisis”. His homily was destined to move the wealthy citizens of Caesarea to open their granaries and to give food to their poor and starving fellow citizens. The biographer of Basil, his close friend Gregory the Theologian, sums up the dire situation quite epigrammatically as follows: “There was a famine, it was the worst within living memory, and the city was hard-pressed, for there was neither aid from anywhere, nor was there a remedy for the evil. Now, the coastlands bear such scarcities with no difficulty, giving of their own and receiving [i.e., exporting their own products and importing others in exchange] by sea. But for us who live inland, both a surplus is unprofitable, and a need is unsatisfiable, not having the means to export what does exist, or to import what does not exist.”<sup>10</sup> To make this example even clearer it will suffice to look at what was happening in other cities during the same period.

In Carthage similar climatic anomalies had also probably caused a shortage of wheat in 368–369.<sup>11</sup> However, given the fact that North Africa was a grain producing province whose produce was collected at Carthage and from there shipped to Rome<sup>12</sup>, the *proconsul Africae*, Hymetius, decided to sell grain normally destined for Rome at a fairly low price to his citizens<sup>13</sup>. Although he was later punished for his act, the fact that the city had access to large quantities of grain saved its inhabitants from famine<sup>14</sup>. At the same time large numbers of people from the inner parts of Asia Minor took on a massive flight in order to escape starvation. The church historian Socrates informs us, with some pride, of the innumerable multitudes that arrived in Constantinople and had to be provided for: “For Constantinople, notwithstanding the vast population it supplies, yet always abounds with the necessities of life, all manner of provisions being imported into it by sea from various regions; and the Black Sea which lies near it, furnishes it with wheat to any extent it may require.”<sup>15</sup>

<sup>8</sup> A.H.M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, 284–602. London 1964, II 842, based on evidence from Diocletian’s price edict has calculated that it cost less “to ship grain from one end of the Mediterranean to the other than to carry it 75 miles”. See now also M. McCORMICK, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300 – 900*. Cambridge 2001, 64–115.

<sup>9</sup> Basil of Caesarea, *Homilia dicta tempore famis et siccitatis*, PG 31, 303–28. See now: S. R. HOLMAN, *The Hungry Are Dying: Beggars and Bishops in Roman Cappadocia*. Oxford 2001, esp. 64–98; this chapter in Holmans book is a reworking of her article in the *Journal of Early Christian Studies* (see n. 7) with some changes.

<sup>10</sup> Gregory of Nazianz, *In laudem Basilii* 34–7. PG 35, 541C–44A. Translation: M. F. HENDY, *Economy and State in Late Rome and Early Byzantium: An Introduction*, in: Idem, *The Economy, Fiscal Administration and Coinage of Byzantium*. Northampton 1989, 7.

<sup>11</sup> P. DE JONGE, A curious place in Ammianus Marcellinus dealing with scarcity of corn and cornprices. *Mnemosyne* 4. ser. 1 (1948) 73–80; Durliat, *Ville* 386–9.

<sup>12</sup> SIRKS, *Food* (as in n. 3) 146–92.

<sup>13</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*, ed. W. SEYFARTH, 2 vols (Leipzig 1978) XXVIII 1, 17–23 (II 63–4).

<sup>14</sup> See the honorary inscription put up in honour of Hymetius = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. VI 1, ed. W. HENZEN *et alii*. Berlin 1876, 381.

<sup>15</sup> Socrates, *Church History*, ed. G. Ch. HANSEN (GCS, NF 1). Berlin 1995, IV 16, 7–17, 1 (245–6).

Three cities, unequal both in their location in space, and in their administrative importance show us how the co-ordinates that an area occupies on the axes we have mentioned, pre-shape the quantity and quality of supplies they will receive. But the limitations of geography are not merely as simple to define as what we have viewed from the previous example; rather they can work themselves into more categories.

We have already mentioned that villages and towns were dependant on their immediate hinterland for supplies. This becomes tragically obvious in the case of the two-year crisis in Edessa, in 500–502<sup>16</sup>. Edessa was a fairly rich city, the capital of the province of Osroene and an important commercial centre<sup>17</sup>. After a lasting epidemic of smallpox had worn down its citizens the city found itself in the middle of a vicious circle of catastrophes: first a devastating locust plague ravaged the grain, fruit and vegetable crops of the entire territory. Starving multitudes from the hinterland swarmed to the city in search of food thus aggravating the market situation therein. There followed renewed bouts of pestilence and an uncommonly frosty winter, resulting to a bad harvest. Both the following vintage and grain harvest were also destroyed this time by an extremely hot wind. Throughout this period of two years there was scarcely any aid from outside, apart from a minor amount of money donated by the emperor Anastasios, and some short-term distribution of bread to a selected group of suffering citizens. Edessa as an inland city had only the production of its hinterland to rely on. The fluctuations in production and supply due to climatic and other natural causes, or due to human-induced causes (warfare par excellence) had to be endured, as no external aid could be expected.

We can observe a similarly structured episode regarding a subsistence crisis in Myra during the first wave of the Justinianic Plague in 542. Myra was a coastal city, an important intermediate port for the grain shipments from Egypt to Constantinople. In 542 the plague broke out in the city and decimated its population. The farmers of the hinterland feared to enter the city saying, “if we give the city wide berth then we will not die of this disease.”<sup>18</sup> As a result no grain, wine, flour, wood or anything else was brought to the city’s market, and a severe shortage added up to the ravages of the plague. The city’s dependence on its hinterland was complete, at least as far as short-term crises are concerned. It is quite unlikely that any state-financed help would have been sent to Myra, even if the outbreak of the plague had not interrupted the usual course of the system of supplies. It seems more plausible that the citizens would have seized any amount of grain destined for the capital, if they would have had the chance to do so – a similar action to this was already recorded for Carthage.

As we have already seen, neither the relative administrative importance nor the geographical position *per se*, provided a certain and safe frame for the supply flow of urban centres. We can go one step further in that direction by showing that even what would seem to be the correct co-ordinates on our supply axes, that is both a favourable, coastal position and a genuine administrative importance, were not sufficient to guarantee a constant or certain supply flow.

<sup>16</sup> The crisis is recorded by Ps.-Joshua Stylites = The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite, ed. and trans. by W. WRIGHT. Cambridge 1882 (Reprint Amsterdam 1968); see now the translation: The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite, trans. with Notes and Introduction by F. R. TROMBLEY – J. W. WATT (*Translated Texts for Historians* 32). Liverpool 2000, XXXVIII–XLVI (27–35 WRIGHT/37–49 TROMBLEY – WATT); a vast body of literature has emerged commenting on these events: E. PATLAGEAN, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale: Byzance 4e – 7e siècle*. Paris 1977, 79, 87; A. GUILLOU, *La cosiddetta cronaca siriana di Giosuè lo Stilite: “Storia del tempo dell’afflizione a Edessa, Amida e in tutta la Mesopotamia”*, in: *La civiltà Bizantina dal IV al IX secolo. Aspetti e problemi* (*Corsi di Studi* 1). Bari 1977, 369–83, *passim*; H. LECLAINCHE, *Crises économiques à Édesse (494–506) d’après la chronique du pseudo Josuè le Stylite*. *Pallas* 27 (1980) 89–100, *passim*; GARNSEY, *Famine*, 1–7, 20–36; DURLIAT, *Ville*, 418–20; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle*. Paris 1992, 455–8, 470–71; I. TELELIS, *Μετεωρολογικά φαινόμενα και κλίμα στο Βυζάντιο. Προσέγγιση των πληροφοριών από τις πηγές και εμπεπικτές ενδείξεις για τις διακυμάνσεις του κλίματος της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου και Μέσης Ανατολής (300–1500 μ.Χ.)* (*Πονήματα της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών*). Athens 2004, Nos. 109–110; A. LUTHER, *Die syrische Chronik des Josua Stylites* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 49). Berlin–New York 1997, 173–8; R. W. BURGESS, *Overlooked Evidence for Grain Prices in Antioch A.D. 333*. *ZPE* 120 (1998) 297; J. M. BREYER, *Sie legten lediglich eine nicht unbeträchtliche Menge Eier in unser Land. Heuschreckenplagen in der Spätantike und die Chronik des Josua Stylites*. *Byzantina* 21 (2000) 57–83 and now D. STATHAKOPOULOS, *Famine and Pestilence in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine Empire: a Systematic Survey of Subsistence Crises and Epidemics* (*Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs* 9). Aldershot 2004, 250–255.

<sup>17</sup> J. B. SEGAL, *Edessa: The Blessed City*. Oxford 1970 (Reprint New Jersey 2001).

<sup>18</sup> *Vita of Nicholas of Sion*, ed. G. ANRICH = Hagios Nikolaos. *Der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*, vol 1 (*Texte und Untersuchungen*). Berlin 1913, 52 (40–41); Translation: *The Life of Saint Nicholas of Sion*, ed. and translated by I. ŠEVČENKO – N. PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO (*The Archbishop Iakovos Library of ecclesiastical and historical sources* 10). Brookline 1984, 83.



The city to discuss is Thessalonica, an urban centre of great strategic, commercial and administrative importance, and the capital of the prefecture of Illyricum<sup>19</sup>. The incidents we are about to examine took place in the late sixth / early seventh century and are recorded exclusively in the *Miracula Sancti Demetrii*, an account of the miracles performed by the city's patron saint<sup>20</sup>. In 597 and around 608–611 the city of Thessalonica was ravaged by famine. In the first case we have the additional information that an Avar siege of the city had taken place prior to the famine<sup>21</sup>. The hinterland had been pillaged by the enemy and no food shipment could be expected because it was generally rumoured that Thessalonica had been taken by the Avars and this news kept the merchants away from its port. In the second case nothing more is recorded than the presence of the famine<sup>22</sup>. In both cases, however, the end of the crisis was reached in the same, miraculous way: Saint Demetrios appeared to state officials in charge of the shipment of grain to Constantinople at the intermediate port at Chios and prompted them, in visions, to turn their course around and head for Thessalonica. Needless to say, that according to the hagiographic narrative this came to be and the city was amply supplied with food. In my mind, the miraculous element in the narrative stands for something that would otherwise be impossible: that grain destined for the capital would – even partly – be used to relieve a subsistence crisis in any other urban centre. There is also a third similar case of famine in Thessalonica. It occurred in 676–678, and it was caused by a two-year siege by various Slavic tribes<sup>23</sup>. The imperial relief in form of a moderate shipment of grain arrived only after the end of the siege and no miraculous intervention of the Saint was called for. The probable cause for this change of attitude can be explained historically. At the end of the seventh century with large territories (North Africa, Egypt, Syria and Palestine) irrevocably lost to the Arabs and with the pressure of the Slavs imminently felt at the Balkans<sup>24</sup>, the imperial government must have felt the need to protect what was now the second most important city of the Empire by offering relief from the crisis.

What has been discussed so far suggests a very negative picture for the supply of urban centres in Late Antiquity, regardless of their position in the two axes mentioned above. Were there then urban centres for which the system of supply functioned always in a stable and certain way? The answer is yes, though with some reservations depending on the technical limitations present at the times: this rule was only valid for those urban centres wherein the Emperor resided.

Rome had been the imperial residence par excellence, the *caput mundi* and as such its provisions with food (especially grain, oil, wine and meat), had been one of the chief priorities of the imperial government over the first three centuries AD<sup>25</sup>. When Constantine shifted the weight of imperial power to the East, by inaugurating Constantinople in the early fourth century, he could certainly not have predicted the full impact of that move. At first Constantinople was a fairly small city, and the 80,000 annona tickets amounting to the total rations of free bread, were perceived as a means to attract people to the new capital<sup>26</sup>. But as Constantinople's importance grew rapidly along with its population, the importance of Rome diminished. This is a well known fact, but it is interesting to see how the question of the balance of supplies between both cities corroborates this tendency.

The material I have collected in my book includes data on shortages and famines that may serve as an indicator of the malfunction of the system of supplies<sup>27</sup>. It is clear from the presentation of the data, that Rome underwent a drastic status-change in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Eight consecutive subsistence crises in one century (seven of which were concentrated in its second half) signify severe problems with the city's provisions. With

<sup>19</sup> A. SCHMINCK, Galerius und Thessaloniki, in: Byzantine Law. Proceedings of the International Symposium of Jurists, ed. Ch. PAPASTATHIS. Thessalonica 2001, 117–32.

<sup>20</sup> P. LEMERLE, Les plus anciens recueils des Miracles de Saint Démétrius et la pénétration des Slaves dans les Balkans, 2 vols. Paris 1979–1981; P. SPECK, De miraculis Sancti Demetrii, qui Thessaloniam profugus venit, oder: Ketzerisches zu den Wundergeschichten des Heiligen Demetrios und zu seiner Basilika in Thessalonike (*Poikila Byzantina* 12). Bonn 1993, 255–532; IDEM, Nochmals zu den Miracula Sancti Demetrii (*Poikila Byzantina* 13). Bonn 1994, 317–429.

<sup>21</sup> Miracles de Saint Démétrius I § 68–72 (101–3 LEMERLE).

<sup>22</sup> Miracles de Saint Démétrius I § 73–80 (106–8 LEMERLE).

<sup>23</sup> Miracles de Saint Démétrius I § 243–268 (211–21 LEMERLE).

<sup>24</sup> J. F. HALDON, Byzantium in the Seventh Century: The Transformation of a Culture, rev. ed. Cambridge 1997, 41–67.

<sup>25</sup> GARNSEY, Famine, 208–17, 236–43, 251–62; DURLIAT, Ville, 37–123.

<sup>26</sup> DAGRON, Naissance; 518–41; MANGO, Développement, *passim*.

<sup>27</sup> STATHAKOPOULOS, Famine and Pestilence, esp. ch. 2, 23–34.



the foundation of Constantinople, and the direction of the Egyptian annona towards the new capital around the 330's, Rome had to experience a gradual, but — taking into consideration the long tradition behind this measure — nevertheless, quite sudden lack of grain<sup>28</sup>.

At the same period the population in Constantinople experienced only one case of shortage between 330–337: there the causes had been climatic. The absence of subsistence crises in 4<sup>th</sup> century Constantinople may also be taken as an indication that the capital's growing population was either as large that the amount of the imported grain could cover, or smaller. Until the loss of Egypt and its grain to the Persians, and then to the Arabs in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, Constantinople remained quite safe from the menace of famine-induced mortality: there were no cases in the 4<sup>th</sup>, one in the 5<sup>th</sup>, two in the 6<sup>th</sup>, one in the 7<sup>th</sup> and one in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. This last case refers to the only recorded siege-induced famine that Constantinople had to endure from the time of its foundation up to 750<sup>29</sup>. In a number of cases where the Capital had to experience sieges there have been no recorded cases of famine<sup>30</sup>.

On the contrary, Rome suffered a number of siege-induced famines that were often coupled with the outbreak of an epidemic resulting in massive mortality. There were seven of them between 397–398 and 545–546. It is remarkable that this famine-induced mortality in Rome is concentrated within a 150-year-period between the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> and the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, which largely coincides with the long period of unrest that was unleashed upon Italy as a result of attacks first by the Visigoths and then by the Ostrogoths. Rome depended on the African grain shipments after the Egyptian annona was directed towards Constantinople (cf. supra)<sup>31</sup>. From 435 onward, as the Vandals conquered Africa, but mostly in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the fatal combination of imperial warfare against the Vandals in Africa (533–534) and against the Goths in Italy (535–552) produced a disastrous situation for the city. The Lombard incursion that followed did not apparently cause any large scale mortality resulting from famine. This can be seen as a result of the overall population decline that was brought about by the outbreak of the plague in the 540s<sup>32</sup>. There is a tendency for more famines in the old rather than in the new Rome. In my mind this reflects the effort of the imperial government to secure provisions (mostly the grain provisions) for their residence as an utmost priority. The emperors lived in Constantinople in close proximity to the populace that had to be provided for; if there was not sufficient food, riots would commonly result. This phenomenon was fairly common in late antique Rome<sup>33</sup>, but relatively rare in Constantinople<sup>34</sup>.

Another example will show that it is the administrative, and not the geographical status of the imperial residence, which ensured that it was so carefully provided for. In 362–363 Julian resided in Antioch while preparing for war with Persia<sup>35</sup>. Due to the concentration of troops in the city, and also due to a recent drought

<sup>28</sup> The Constantinopolitan annona officially began in May 332 according to the *Chronicon Paschale*, (531). Cf. DAGRON, Naissance, 530–31; SIRKS, Food, 202.

<sup>29</sup> The city was held by the usurper Artabasdos and besieged by the rightful heir Constantine V from September 742 to November 743 cf. Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. DE BOOR, Leipzig 1873, AM 6235 (419); Patriarch Nikephoros, *Breviarium*, ed. C. MANGO (*CFHB* 13), Washington, D.C. 1990, 66 (136). Furthermore see P. SPECK, Artabasdos der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren: Untersuchungen zur Revolte des Artabasdos und ihrer Darstellung in der byzantinischen Historiographie (*Poikila Byzantina* 2), Bonn 1981, 19–77, *passim*; I. ROCHOW, Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes: quellenkritisch-historischer Kommentar zu den Jahren 715–813 (*BBA* 57), Berlin 1991, 144–6; P. SPECK, Das letzte Jahr des Artabasdos, *JÖB* 45 (1995) 37–52.

<sup>30</sup> In 626 (cf. A. STRATOS, *To Βυζάντιο στον Ζ' αιώνα*, 6 vols. Athens 1965–77, II 491–542; W. TREADGOLD, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*, Stanford 1997, 297–8); in 674–678 (cf. STRATOS V 35–45; 325–7) and in 717–718, where a famine ravages the Arab army that had set the city under siege; TREADGOLD, 346–9).

<sup>31</sup> SIRKS, Food, 146–8.

<sup>32</sup> From the vast literature on the Justinianic plague it will suffice to refer to: STATHAKOPOULOS, *Famine and Pestilence*, 110–54; IDEM, *The Justinianic Plague Revisited*, *BMGS* 24 (2000) 256–76, and now *Plague and the End of Antiquity. The Pandemic of 541–750*, ed. L. K. LITTLE, Cambridge 2007 and P. HORDEN, *Mediterranean Plague in the Age of Justinian*, in: *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Justinian*, ed. M. MAAS, New York 2005, 134–160. (The author of the latter was kind enough to allow me to consult his paper prior to publication, for which I am grateful).

<sup>33</sup> H. P. KOHNS, *Versorgungskrisen und Hungerrevolten im spätantiken Rom* (*Antiquitas, Reihe* 1/6), Bonn 1961.

<sup>34</sup> Only five riots recorded, cf. STATHAKOPOULOS, *Famine and Pestilence*, Catalogue Nos 43, 51, 59, 132, 165, 176.

<sup>35</sup> These incidents are recorded in a large number of sources: Ammianus Marcellinus XXII 12–14 (I 277–82); Libanios, *Orationes* I 126 (I, 1 143–44), XI 177–78 (I, 2 496–7), XV 20 (II 127), XVIII 195 (II 321–2); *Epistulae* W 695 (= F 785, X 707–8), W 712 (= F 802, X 722–4); Julian, *Misopogon*, esp. 368a–370d (195–8); John Chrysostomus, *De S. Babyla* 2, *PG* 50, 531; Socrates III 17, 2 (212–3). Furthermore see: DE JONGE, *Scarcity*, *passim*; G. DOWNEY, *The Economic Crisis at Antioch under Julian the Apo-*

that had destroyed the crops, a severe shortage broke out in the city. The measures that Julian took to relieve the crisis were remarkable – and needless to say – were not again applied to that city, either before or after this incident. At first he took administrative measures against the crisis, regulated the market prices of the city, and exempted citizens from taxes. Then, when all this had failed, he had large amounts of grain imported from the nearby cities of Chalkis and Hierapolis. Subsequently, he continued to offer a sizeable quantity of corn from his own patrimony and household and finally he had Egyptian grain brought to the city and sold at an extremely low price. This would never have occurred in Antioch, if the emperor had not resided there at that time.

Other cases can also illustrate the absolute priority of providing Constantinople with food over any and every other city in the Empire<sup>36</sup>. In 361 African grain destined for Rome, where a famine ravaged the population, landed in Constantinople instead<sup>37</sup>. In 581–582 grain and bread were imported from Egypt and especially from the Thebais region, to supply famine-ridden Constantinople although this caused an even more dire famine with massive mortality in those regions<sup>38</sup>. Finally, in a case mentioned above between 608–611, during the reign of Phokas, a famine ravaged Thessalonica<sup>39</sup>. This famine was miraculously terminated by Saint Demetrios, who allegedly appeared to an official in charge of the grain-shipments to Constantinople, and who had him direct these shipments instead, to Thessalonica. A wheat shortage was already manifest in the capital, probably as a result of the uprising of the Heraclids against Phokas, a movement which included the withholding of the African and Egyptian grain shipments to the capital<sup>40</sup>. Contrary to what the Miracles of St Demetrios report, the famine in Thessalonica must have been caused by the effort of Phokas to ensure that the largest possible amount of grain from the area still under his control was imported to the capital. This resulted in the occurrence of shortages and/or of famines in other cities, that would have otherwise obtained this grain. We can safely assume that these grain shipments did not in fact reach Thessalonica instead of Constantinople, otherwise a famine/shortage in the Capital would have resulted. However, there is no such record.

We have mentioned before that the supply system to the imperial place of residence was ideally, but not always actually stable and certain. The problems in the mechanisms of supply occurred whenever external factors interfered. No grain shipment, imperial or other, was safe from untoward climatic conditions. This was the case in 330–337 in Constantinople when the failing south wind hindered the grain shipment from landing<sup>41</sup>, a situation that was to repeat itself over the centuries, until Justinian I, had built a large granary on Tenedos that allowed grain to be unloaded near the capital in anticipation of favourable wind conditions.<sup>42</sup> Similar cases are also recorded for Rome<sup>43</sup>.

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state, in: *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honour of Allan Chester Johnson*, ed. P. R. COLEMAN-NORTON. New York 1951 (Reprint 1969), 312–21; P. PETIT, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Paris 1955, 109–18; G. DOWNEY, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*. Princeton 1961, 382–93; IDEM, *Ancient Antioch*. Princeton 1963, 164–75; H.P. KOHNS, *Die tatsächliche Dauer des Maximaltarifs für Antiochia v. J. 362*. *Rheinisches Museum* 114 (1971) 78–83, passim; H. SCHNEIDER, *Die Getreideversorgung der Stadt Antiochia im 4. Jh. n. Chr.* *Münstersche Beiträge zur Antiken Handelsgeschichte* 2 (1983) 62–6; HERZ, *Studien*, 335–7; GARNSEY, *Famine*, 22–3; DURLIAT, *Ville*, 365–75; BURGESS, *Evidence*, 297.

<sup>36</sup> It is noteworthy that such a practise continued well into the Ottoman period of the city; cf. T. MALTHUS, *An Essay on the Principle of Population*. The sixth edition (1826) with variant readings from the second edition (1803), ed. E. A. WRIGLEY – D. SOUDEN (*The Works of Thomas Robert Malthus* 2). London 1986, 113: “When Constantinople is in want of provisions, ten provinces are perhaps famished for a supply.”

<sup>37</sup> Mamertinus, *Gratiarum Actio Iuliano XIV* (= *Panegyriques latins*, ed. E. GALLETIER, vol 2 [Paris 1952] 27–8); KOHNS, *Versorgungskrisen*, 125–8; DAGRON, *Naissance*, 531; DURLIAT, *Ville*, 44.

<sup>38</sup> John of Ephesos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, Pars III. Ed. E. W. BROOKS (*CSCO, Scriptores Syri* III 3. Louvain 1936) XLV (133–4); Michael the Syrian II 351–2; PATLAGEAN, *Pauvreté*, 77 n. 52, 80; TELELIS, *Μετεωρολογικά φαινόμενα*, No. 190.

<sup>39</sup> See above.

<sup>40</sup> J. H. W. G. LIEBESCHUTZ, *Decline and Fall of the Roman City*. Oxford 2001, 272–6.

<sup>41</sup> Eunapios, *Vitae Sophistarum*, ed. I. GIANGRANDE. Rome 1956, VI 2, 9–12 (20); O. Seeck, *Sopatros* (11). *RE* 3A 1007; H. P. KOHNS, *Hungersnot*. *RAC* 16 (1994) 875; DAGRON, *Naissance*, 531–2.

<sup>42</sup> Procopius, *Buildings* V 1, 7–12 (IV 150–51); A. M. MÜLLER, *Getreide für Konstantinopel. Überlegungen zu Justinians Edikt XIII als Grundlage für Aussagen zur Einwohnerzahl Konstantinopels im 6. Jahrhundert*. *JÖB* 43 (1993) 6.

<sup>43</sup> See STATHAKOPOULOS, *Famine and Pestilence*, Nos 12 and 31, both from the 4th century.

But the human element could also interfere with the imperial will. Rome was subject to what seems to have been a recurring obstruction of its food supplies either for political or for military reasons. This was particularly true for the fourth and early fifth centuries during which time four such cases were attested.<sup>44</sup> This must have also been true for Constantinople, but the few recorded cases that have come down to us show that the imperial government took draconian measures to ensure that the supply for its capital would not be endangered. In 355 Athanasios was banished to Gaul following the accusation that he had wanted to detain the grain shipments to Constantinople<sup>45</sup>. In 452 the party of the deposed patriarch of Alexandria, Dioskoros, revolted against the authorities, and threatened to obstruct the grain shipments to Constantinople. The emperor Markianos ordered the Egyptian corn to be delivered and shipped to the capital at Pelusium instead of to Alexandria, whereupon the rebels in the latter city suffered starvation<sup>46</sup>.

John of Ephesos informs us of the massive mortality that ensued during a dire famine that ravaged Constantinople and Egypt in 581–582, but he ends in a positive note: “Through God’s mercy in that year the tuna-catch was extraordinary, so that everybody could buy them cheaply and eat enough. In the regions far from the sea God made fruit and vegetable ripen in abundance.”<sup>47</sup> We can sum this up as follows: for inhabitants of mainland cities which above all enjoyed no administrative importance, it often required a miracle to supply them with food.

<sup>44</sup> STATHAKOPOULOS, *Famine and Pestilence*, Nos 3, 15, 37, 44.

<sup>45</sup> Athanasios, *Apologia contra Arianos* (*Apologia secunda*), ed. H. G. OPITZ (*Athanasius Werke* 2). Berlin–Leipzig 1940, 87,3 (166); *Socrates* I 35, 2 (85); cf. HERZ, *Studien*, 328–9; SIRKS, *Food*, 202.

<sup>46</sup> Theodore Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G. Ch. HANSEN (*GCS*). Berlin 1971, fr. 362 (102).

<sup>47</sup> John of Ephesos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, Pars III. Ed. E. W. BROOKS (*CSCO, Scriptorum Syri* III 3). Louvain 1936, XLV (133–4).



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## The terminology of Egyptian monastic garments\*

Monastic literature, albeit in a complicated way, has provided us with a description of, and terminology for, Egyptian monastic attire in the fourth century; that is mainly for the habit of the Tabennesian communities<sup>1</sup>. First of all, we have the testimony of the Pachomian rule in the Coptic version<sup>2</sup>, in Jerome's Latin version<sup>3</sup> and in the Greek *excerpta*<sup>4</sup>. We also have literary evidence: not only the rest of the Pachomian material, but also Athanasios' *Life of Anthony*, the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*; Palladios' *Historia Lausiaca*; Sozomenos' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, John Cassian's *Cenobitic Institutions*; Evagrius Pontikos' *Practical Treatise or the monk*, and so on, which provide a great amount of information about this matter. One of the problems that we find interesting is the translation of the terms from one language into the other and the transmission of the concepts, even if sometimes cultural circumstances made necessary an adaptation.

Proverbially the first anchorites at the peak of their asceticism wore nothing but their hair and beards to cover their bodies<sup>5</sup>. But in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* reportedly the tunic, the only garment a monk should wear, was thrown in front of a cell (although over three days nobody considered it worthy to be picked up). By the fourth century in the rules, the costume of the monk was considered alongside aspects of monastic life<sup>6</sup>. It also has to be said that the Pachomian rule is clearly against nudity, amongst other precautions, to avoid carnal temptations.

There is enough evidence to say that by the fourth century there was a monastic attire that clearly distinguished the monks from secular individuals. In the *Historia Monachorum* (X 9), Patermuthios is said to have been the first to devise the monastic habit: καὶ τὸ μοναδικὸν ἔνδυμα τοῦτο πρῶτος ἐφευρών. There is a description of the complete attire given by him to a disciple: a sleeveless tunic, a hood, a sheepskin and a linen cloth around his waist: ὁ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐνδύσας αὐτὸν λεβιτῶνα καὶ κουκούλιον τῇ κεφαλῇ περιθεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἄσκησιν προσεβίβαζεν τὴν μηλωτὴν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους περιθέμενος καὶ λέντιον αὐτῷ περιζωσόμενος<sup>7</sup>.

In an *Apophthegma* preserved only in Coptic<sup>8</sup> the origin of this, it is claimed, is due to Saint Antony. When fighting against the demons, he devised the stratagem of dressing a doll with the typical habits of the monk:

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<sup>1</sup> On this J. M. BESSE, *Les moines d'Orient*. Paris 1900, 248; B. KRAMER – J. C. SCHELTON – G. M. BROWNE, *Das Archiv des Nephros und verwandte Texte (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 4)*. Mainz 1987, 70–71; R. COQUIN, *À propos des vêtements des moines égyptiens. Bulletin de la société d'archéologie copte* 31 (1992) 3–23, 10–14. See also K.C. INNEMÉE, *Ecclesiastical Dress in the Medieval Near East (Studies in Textile and Costume History 1)*. Leiden 1992.

<sup>2</sup> L. Th. LEFORT, *Oeuvres de s. Pachôme et de ses disciples (CSCO 159–160)*. Louvain 1956.

<sup>3</sup> *PL* 23, 65–92, A. BOON, *Pachomiana Latina. Règle et épîtres de s. Pachôme, épître de s. Théodore et 'liber' de Orsiesius, Texte Latin de s. Jérôme (Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique 7)*. Louvain 1932.

<sup>4</sup> P. B. ALBERS, *S. Pachomii Abbatis Tabennensis Regulae Monasticae (Florilegium Patristicum, fasc. 16)*. Bonn 1923; BOON 1932.

<sup>5</sup> L. REGNAULT, *La vie quotidienne des pères du désert en Égypte au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle (La vie quotidienne)*. Paris 1990, 65–7.

<sup>6</sup> REGNAULT (see n. 5) 69.

<sup>7</sup> Jerome in his *praefatio* to the translation of the Rule, 4 (*PL* 23, 66): *Nihil habent in cellulis praeter psiathium et quae infra scripta sunt, duo lebitonaria (quod Aegyptiis monachis genus vestimenti est sine manicis) et unum jam attritum ad dormiendum, vel operandum; et amictum lineum, cucullosque duos; et caprinam pelliculam quam meloten vocant; balteolum lineum, et gallicas ac bacillum itineris socium*, cf. Horsiesis, *Doctrina de Institutione monachorum* 22 (*PG* 40, 879): *sufficit nobis habere quod homini satis est, duo levitonaria, et alium attritum, et palliolum lineum, duos cucullos, zonam lineam, gallicas, pellem et virgam*.

<sup>8</sup> E. AMÉLINEAU, *Histoire des monastères de la Basse-Égypte*. Paris 1894 = *Annales Musée Guimet* 25, p. 40, l. 6.



the sleeveless tunic, the scapular and the hood. It is, however, anachronistic, since it does not seem possible that by the time of Antony there was any trace of a standardized monkish habit<sup>9</sup>.

The uniformity of the monks' outfit is mentioned, for instance, in the *Historia Monachorum* on Apollo (VIII 19), where a community is described as robed in white<sup>10</sup>. The habit was in a way standardized, and it acquired a symbolic importance, the imposition of the habit becoming a meaningful ceremony<sup>11</sup>. It is also strictly forbidden in Pachomian regulations to change any element of the attire, or to add any ornament to it (*Praecepta* 98).

Basically the elements mentioned in monastic literature are as follows:

**The tunic:** a linen sleeveless tunic without any decoration. Generally the Egyptian monks had two, one of them for everyday use and for sleeping<sup>12</sup> and the other for special occasions, such as Sunday liturgy. It is considered to be the basic monastic garment of the Pachomian communities<sup>13</sup>, and it can, in fact, be identified with σχῆμα, a term which generally designates the whole attire in some texts<sup>14</sup>. And it was mainly the only garment they wore, if we believe Cassian when he says that the Egyptian *colobion* is not sufficient in the West, due to the rigours of the continental climate<sup>15</sup>.

Generally, in monastic literature the habit is called λεβιτών in Greek<sup>16</sup>, λεβιτογ and other variants in Coptic<sup>17</sup>, and *lebiton* or *lebitonarium* in Latin, often given together with another term, κολόβιον<sup>18</sup>, which we normally find in the papyri, mainly from the second to the sixth centuries<sup>19</sup>. This is the regular term in Egypt for this kind of tunic without sleeves, stemming from the word κολοβόω, 'to cut or mutilate'<sup>20</sup>. The term λεβιτών is also attested in the Greek papyri, albeit in only three instances<sup>21</sup>. It is a peculiar phenomenon that

<sup>9</sup> COQUIN (see n. 1), 6.

<sup>10</sup> P. OPPENHEIM, *Das Mönchskleid im christlichen Altertum*. Freiburg 1931, 69–71. On monks robed in black, *ibid.*, 71–8; on natural colour: 78–81.

<sup>11</sup> REGNAULT (see n. 5), 70.

<sup>12</sup> In the *Letter to Ammon* 17, a Pachomian monk sleeps in a σάκκον λινούν: J.E. GOEHRING, *The Letter of Ammon and Pachomian Monasticism*. Berlin – New York 1985, 136.

<sup>13</sup> OPPENHEIM (see n. 10), 91.

<sup>14</sup> *Apophthegmata Patrum, Collectio alphabetica, Poemen* 11. PG 65, 324D–325A: ἦρεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὸ σχῆμα ... καὶ ἦλθε ... βασιτάζων τοὺς λεβήτωνας τῶν ἀδελφῶν. R. DRAGUET, *Le chapitre de l'Histoire Lausiaque sur les Tabennésiotes dérive-t-il d'une source copte? Le Muséon* 57 (1944) 53–145, 95.

<sup>15</sup> *Inst.* I 10: *neque gallicis nos neque colobiis seu unica tunica esse contentos hiemis permittit asperitas*.

<sup>16</sup> Although Maximus Confessor (seventh cent.), for instance, uses κολόβιον (*Quaestiones et dubia* 67. PG 90, col. 840–1).

<sup>17</sup> J. DIETHART, *Lexikographische Lese Früchte*. Bemerkungen zu "Liddell-Scott": Revised Supplement 1996. *ZPE* 123 (1998) 165–76, 173: Coptic forms: ΛΑΒΙΤΕ Coptic Ostrakon 7/8<sup>th</sup> cent. (W. C. TILL, *Die koptischen Ostraka der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek. Texte, Übersetzungen, Indices* [Österr. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften 78,1]. Graz–Wien–Köln 1960, n. 140, 15). ΛΕΤΩΗ, ΛΑΒΙΤΕ, ΛΑΒΙΤΟΓ and ΛΕΒΙΤΟΓ (W.E. CRUM in H.I. BELL, *Jews and Christians in Egypt. The Jewish Troubles in Alexandria and the Athanasian Controversy*. London 1924. 92–3 and 98 [PLond. 1920 and 1922 (AD 330–340)]); H.I. BELL – W. E. CRUM, *Wadi Sarga, Coptic and Greek Texts from the Excavations undertaken by the Byzantine research account*. Hauniae 1922, 134 (n. 164, l. 9); I. LEIPOLDT, *Sinuthii Vita bohairice (CSCO Scriptores Coptici* 41). Louvain 1951, 98, 49; A. BOUD'HORS, *Vêtements et textiles à usages divers: termes coptes. GRAFMA. Bulletin du groupe de recherche archéologique française et internationale sur les métiers depuis l'Antiquité* 1 (1997) 25. ΛΩΒΙΤΩΗ (BELL – CRUM *op. cit.*, n. 161). ΛΟΥΒΙΤΟΓ in an unedited ostrakon (PVindob. K 11.375). ΛΕΒΙΤΩΗ in L.S.B. MACCOULL, *Coptic Documentary Papyri from the Beinecke Library* (Yale University). Cairo 1986, 35.

<sup>18</sup> The terms appear identified in the Greek *Excerpta* to the Pachomian rule (178, 11): δύο λενητονάρια, ὃ ἐστὶ λινὰ κολόβια; and in the *Historia Monachorum* VIII 5: ὁ λεβιτών, ὅπερ τινὲς κολόβιον προσαγορεύουσιν. cf. Isidorus *Etym.* 19, 22, 22: *lebitonarium est colobium sine manicis, quali monachi Aegyptii utuntur*. A. GRILLI, *Liddell-Scott* (1925–1975). *Paideia* 31 (1976) 3–8, 6. For the difference between the κολόβιον and the δαλματική, R. MURRI, *Ricerche sugli abiti menzionati nei papiri greco-egizi. Aegyptus* 23 (1943) 106–27, 125.

<sup>19</sup> Some examples: PWarr. 15 (second cent.); POxy. VI 921 (third cent.); POxy. XLIV 3201 (third cent.); POxy. I 109 (third-fourth cent.); PHeid. VII 406 (fourth-fifth cent.); Pland. VI 102 (sixth cent.).

<sup>20</sup> The Greek term κολόβιον appears also in Coptic: M. HASITZKA, *Neue Texte und Dokumentation zum koptischen Unterricht (MPER* 18). Vienna 1990, 272, 4; 215–6; I. GARDNER – A. ALCOCK – W. P. FUNK, *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis*. Oxford 1999, I 68 and 152 (PKell. I 18). It is also probably behind the Egyptian Arabic *galabiya* (COQUIN [see n. 1] 23; GARDNER – ALCOCK – FUNK, *op. cit.* 68).

<sup>21</sup> PBad. IV 95 (seventh century AD, Hermoupolis); PNeph. 12 (fourth century AD, Thebaid); POxy. XIV 1683 (fourth century AD, Oxyrhynchus). Although λεβιτών is also considered to be a typically Egyptian term, originated in monastic circles (H. MIHĂESCU, *La terminologie d'origine latine des vêtements dans la littérature Byzantine*. In: *Byzance. Hommage à André Stratos*. Athens 1986, II 587–99, 596).

κολόβιον, the popular term, as proven by the occurrences in the papyri, is mentioned only in literary texts as a synonym of λεβιτών, which occurs only rarely in the papyri. It is also remarkable that the earliest attestations of the term λεβιτών, in AD 330–340, are not Greek, but Coptic (*P.Lond.* 1920 and 1922).

Jerome<sup>22</sup> describes the *lebiton* as a typically Egyptian garment, a sleeveless tunic made of linen:<sup>23</sup> *duo lebitonaria quod genus absque manicis aegyptii vestimenti est; vestimentum id est tunicam lineam absque manicis quam lebitonarium vocant.* Cassian (*Inst.* I 4), writing in Latin, chose to use the word *colobion*, instead of λεβιτών, and describes it as follows: *colobiis quoque lineis induti, quae vix ad cubitorum ima pertingunt, nudas de reliquo circumferunt manus, ut amputatos habere eos actus et opera mundi huius suggerat abscisio manicarum.* Sozomenos (*HE* III 14, 7) uses the term χιτών and describes it as a sleeveless tunic: τοὺς μὲν χιτῶνας ἀχειριδῶτους<sup>24</sup>.

The Coptic text of the Pachomian rule uses the word ⲩⲱⲧⲏⲏ, although there is another word which Draguet (1944: 96) supposes is the fore-runner of the Greek λεβιτών, at least in the sources for Palladios' *Historia Lausiaca*: ⲃⲁⲃⲓⲧⲱⲛ. Originally it meant linen, but it came to mean a coarse linen garment, and it appears in the texts related to monastic habits<sup>25</sup>. The term ⲩⲱⲧⲏⲏ occurs in the Pachomian rule and this is rendered by Jerome, as *palliolo lineo*.

The term ⲃⲁⲃⲓⲧⲱⲛ appears in two passages of the Lives of Pachomius<sup>26</sup> and it is described as a monastic garment: ⲅⲃⲱ ⲡⲓⲙⲟⲛⲁϭⲟⲥ. In the Prophecy of Karour, one of the disciples of Pachomios<sup>27</sup>, the basic attire is described as a ⲃⲁⲃⲓⲧⲱⲛ, a girdle or *cucullus* and a belt or scapular: ⲡⲧⲉⲧⲡⲓⲃⲁⲃⲓⲧⲱⲛ ⲅⲓⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ ⲅⲓⲙⲟϭⲅ. The meaning of the Greek and Latin correspondences for these terms will be reviewed below.

**The hood**<sup>28</sup> is rendered in Greek by κουκούλλιον, a loan word from the Latin *cucullus*; as in Evagrius (*Pr.* 2) and Palladios (*HL* 32, 26). Sozomenos (*HE* III 14, 7 and 13), however, also calls it τῖαρα. One Coptic term for it is ⲕⲟⲅⲕⲗⲉ, which probably stems also from Latin *cucullus*. The ultimate origin of the word is probably Celtic<sup>29</sup>. A second Coptic for hood is ⲕⲗⲁϥⲧ.

The *cucullus* is described only by Cassian (*Inst.* I 3): *cucullis namque perparvis usque ad cervicis umero-rumque demissis confinia, qui capita tantum contegant*, (i. e. covering head and shoulders).

In the Pachomian rule it is obligatory to wear the hood while eating in the refectory. This is confirmed by the description of Tabennesians in the *Historia Monachorum* (III 1): κεκαλυμμένῳ προσώπῳ ἐσθίοντας; and in Athanasios' *Letter to Kastor* 7 (*PG* 28, col. 857): καὶ τὰ κουκούλια ἕως κάτω τῶν βλεφάρων φοροῦσιν. Cassian (*Inst.* I 3) also notes that the *cucullus* is worn day and night. The hood as monastic symbol can be understood from such a text as one of the *Apophthegmata*<sup>30</sup> where the monk threw his *cucullus* to the ground and trampled on it as a symbolic act, to express that he thought he did not deserve to be a monk.

In the Pachomian rule we find the term ⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ when the habit is described as ⲣⲁⲅⲧⲟⲅ ⲅⲓⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ (*Praecepta* 91). Although translated by Jerome as *cucullo et pelliculla*, (where *cucullus* corresponds to ⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ, if ⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ is the Greek word τελαμών), then it can designate a kind of belt<sup>31</sup>. But again when Pachomios mentions the ⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ carries the distinctive mark of the congregation<sup>32</sup>, then we have to think that he means the *cucullus*: the confirmation is in the text of Palladios' *Historia Lausiaca* (32, 3), and Sozomenos' *Historia Ecclesiastica* (III 14, 13), when they say that these special marks are carried on the hood. This word appears again in the Prophecy of Karour, mentioned above, where the ⲧⲟⲗⲟⲙⲱⲛ is symbolically understood as the obedience of the child, and this is more or less the significance of the *cucullus* in monastic

<sup>22</sup> *Praefatio* 4 (*PL* 23, 66).

<sup>23</sup> Also described as a sleeveless tunic in a late Coptic Apophthegma, AMÉLINEAU, *Annales Musée Guimet* 25, p. 40, l. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Isidorus Pelusiota, *Epistula* I 216 (*PG* 78, 317).

<sup>25</sup> W.E. CRUM, *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford 1939, 844b. See for example a text from a Coptic apophthegma about Apa Dioscorus (G. ZOEGA, *Catalogus codicum copticorum manuscriptorum*. Rome 1810 [repr. Leipzig 1903] 351, 1–2), which mentions the garments of a monk: ⲟⲩ ⲃⲁⲃⲓⲧⲱⲛ ... ⲙⲡⲟⲅⲕⲗⲉϥⲧ ⲡⲃⲁⲃⲓⲧⲱⲛ ⲁⲅⲱ ⲕⲉⲃⲁⲃⲓⲧⲱⲛ, “a tunic, a linen hood and another tunic”, rather than “une cuculle de tunique”, as Draguet translates (see n. 14, 97).

<sup>26</sup> L.Th. LEFORT, *S. Pachomii vitae sahidice scriptae* (*CSCO* 99–100). Louvain 1933–34, 102 and 104.

<sup>27</sup> Codex P. Morgan 586 t. LI 3, LEFORT (see n. 2), 102. For the text see below symbolism.

<sup>28</sup> OPPENHEIM (see n. 10), 142–74.

<sup>29</sup> S. GASELEE, Review to Crum's *Coptic Dictionary*. *Journal of Theological Studies* 34 (1933) 331–2, 331; COQUIN (see n. 1), 7.

<sup>30</sup> *Collectio alphabetica*, Zacharias 3. *PG* 65, 180.

<sup>31</sup> As LEFORT (see n. 2), 30, who translates ‘baudrier’ (but see ID. 1956, 120 and 122) and COQUIN (see n. 1), 11 and 22.

<sup>32</sup> Pachomian rule, *Praecepta* 99. OPPENHEIM (see n. 10), 144–5.

literature (see below, symbolism). Consequently, we have enough arguments to consider that *τολομωη* corresponds to the *κουκούλλιον* and is definitely not the Greek term *τελαμών*.

It is not clear from the texts, whether or not the *cucullus* was attached to another garment. Both alternatives are possible. There is a passage in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*<sup>33</sup>, where Theodorus is found by a monk with all his clothes in disorder, his chest naked and his *cucullus* falling on his face. The monk draws his *μαφόριον* back so as to cover his shoulders, and brings his *cucullus* back, thereby covering his chest. This is initially understood by Draguet<sup>34</sup> as the hood being attached to the *μαφόριον*. But this cannot be the rule if we believe that the *cucullus* is worn day and night and the *μαφόριον* only at night, and if it is forbidden to be taken to the refectory, where the *cucullus* is mandatory.

**The belt** or girdle is an important part of the attire. It is usually a piece of linen cloth tied around the waist. However, Dorotheos (*Doctr.* 1, 2) mentions a skin belt: *ζώνη δερματίνη*. It is called *λέντιον* in *Historia Monachorum* (X 9), although the most common word is *ζώνη* (Palladius' *HL* 32, 25)<sup>35</sup>. The Latin version of the rule by Jerome renders *balteolo lineo*: thus the Latin *balteus* or *balteolus*.

In Coptic the word *μοσχ* or *μοσχ* is used for the girdle of the soldier or the monk, and mentioned as part of the attire, together with the *δαβιτωη ριτολομωη ριμοσχ* in the Prophecy of Karour, as we mentioned before. If *τολομωη* here is understood as belt, then the *μοσχ* could be the scapular or *ἀνάλαβος*.

We do not know whether the monks took the belt off for sleeping, as the sources are not in agreement in this point<sup>36</sup>. The act of taking off the belt is a sign of humiliation and penitence, carried out generally in the refectory, and in the synaxis for public penitence for a blame.

**The scapular** or *ἀνάλαβος* was similar to suspenders, shoulder-straps crossed over the back and chest, and attached to the belt, with the aim of holding the tunic's drapes close to the body so as not to hinder movements during work. Cassian (*Inst.* I 5) used the term *analabos* and explained it as *subcinctoria* or *rebracchiatoria*. We find the term *ἀνάλαβος* in Evagrius (*Pr.* 4)<sup>37</sup>. Sozomenos uses the term *ἀναβολεύς*<sup>38</sup>, from the verb *ἀναβάλλω*, "to lift", although *ἀνάλαβος* seems to me to be the correct term for this garment. It was probably a linen garment, and Oppenheim<sup>39</sup> connects it with Jerome's *amictus lineus*. But there was a similar skin garment. The term *σχῆμα* is generally applied to the whole habit, but it might also designate this very piece. Crum<sup>40</sup> has interpreted the term *ραρτογ*<sup>41</sup> in Coptic, as a kind of leather apron<sup>42</sup>, a piece similar to the *ἀνάλαβος*. There is a passage in the Pachomian rule (*Praecepta* 99), which says that the *ραρτογ* has to be well adjusted or tied up. In the translation of Jerome into Latin, *ραρτογ* is rendered as *pellis*, and this could be both the *μηλωτή* or this kind of leather apron. There is another Coptic term, which probably designates this garment: *μογρᾱναρ, μαρῶναρ, μορῡναρ*<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> *Collectio alphabetica*, Theodorus 28. PG 65, 193D–196A.

<sup>34</sup> DRAGUET (see n. 14), 105–6.

<sup>35</sup> The Arabic *zunnār* seems to be a loan word from Greek, *ζωνάριον*, term which is however not frequently attested either in the papyri (just two instances: *PMich* XV 740, sixth cent. and *CPR* V, VindobG39847, 47) or in literary texts (*Historia Alexandri Rec.* R, 1441; Ephraem Syrus *Fragmenta Paraenetica* 2 Assemani III 358 and *In illud: attende tibi ipsi* 2, 30 Assemani I 232).

<sup>36</sup> DRAGUET (see n. 14) 98. *Apophthegma, collectio alphabetica*, Vitimius 33, PG 65, 276D: *καὶ ἦρεν τὰς ζώνας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀναλάβους, καὶ ἔθηκεν ἑαυτοῦς εἰς τὸ ψιάθιον ἔμπροσθέν μου.*

<sup>37</sup> The translator of Evagrius into Latin translates the Greek term with *scapulare*; OPPENHEIM (see n. 10), 139.

<sup>38</sup> MURRI (see n. 14) 111–3: The terms *ἀναβολάδιον* and *ἀνάβολον* appear in the literary texts from the second century with a different meaning, a sort of feminine mantle worn over the shoulders. According to Murri, the nature of the garment designated by those terms cannot be determined.

<sup>39</sup> OPPENHEIM (see n. 10), 138.

<sup>40</sup> H. E. WINLOCK – W. E. CRUM – H. G. E. WHITE, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*. New York 1926, I 76; N. GOURDIER, *Costume of the Religious*. In: A. ATTYA, *Coptic Encyclopedia*. New York 1991, II 650–55, 652.

<sup>41</sup> R. A. PARKER, A Late Demotic gardening agreement. *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* 26–27 (1940–1941) 84–113, 105 connects it with Demotic *rh□tw* with the determinative of the skin (cf. CRUM [see n. 25] 312).

<sup>42</sup> Perhaps the piece presented by G. CASTEL, *Étude d'une momie copte*. In: J. VERCOUTTER (ed.), *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, II: *Égypte post-Pharaonique*. Cairo 1979, 121–43, fig. 4.

<sup>43</sup> CRUM (see n. 25) 777b; *Coptic Apophthegma, Annales Musée Guimet* 25, 40; GOURDIER (see n. 38) 651; IDEM, *Rite et vêtements d'Égypte, l'habit et son histoire. Le monde copte* 21–22 (1993) 61–70, 62.

**The maphorion** (μαφόριον) was a sort of veil or cloak worn over the shoulders and back<sup>44</sup>. It is attested in the *Apophthegmata Patrum*<sup>45</sup> and described by Cassian (*Inst.* I 6) as: *angusto palliolo tam amictus ... quae mafortes tam nostro quam ipsorum nuncupantur eloquio*. Draguet (1944: 103–104) connects it with Jerome's description: *sabano longiore, quod collo umerisque circumdatur*. Thus, Jerome uses *palliolum*, *sabanum* and *amictus* to designate the μαφόριον<sup>46</sup>. But the situation is complicated: whenever he uses *palliolum*, it seems to mean tunic. But on one occasion, when he renders the Coptic term **ⲡⲣⲏⲩ** in *Praecepta et instituta* 6, a rule regarding the hanging of a cloak in the sun, this time it seems not to be a tunic, but rather a *pallium*. **ⲡⲣⲏⲩ** stems from the verb **ⲡⲣⲏⲩ**, to extend, and it appears in the rule for a cover used on the sleeping seat. This is most probably the designation for this garment, used by night, and hung outside in the sun during the day, perhaps for reasons of hygiene.

**The meloté**, **ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧῆ**, sometimes **ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧᾶριον**<sup>47</sup>, *caprina pelliculla, quam meloten vocant* (Jerome, *Praefatio* 4, id. in Cassian *Inst.* I 7), is a mantle made of sheep or goatskin, knotted on the chest and covering the back and shoulders. It was intended for travelling, as a cover when sleeping, or as a sort of bag to carry things, thus the Latin synonym term *pera*, “saddlebag or knapsack” attested by Cassian<sup>48</sup>. It is also used when having meals and in the synaxis, probably, as Draguet explains<sup>49</sup>, because the monk sat on the back part of the **ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧῆ** on these occasions. It was the mantle of Elijah (I *Kings* 19, 13), or of the desert prophets in the *Letter of the Hebrews* (11, 37–8). In *Historia Monachorum* (III 14, 13), it appears as a characteristic feature of Tabennesian monks: **ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧᾶς φοροῦντας**.

As mentioned, **ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧῆ**, stemming from the Greek **μῆλον**, “sheep”, is the common term in Greek for this garment<sup>50</sup>, but we also find **δέρμα** in the *Excerpta Graeca* to the Pachomian rule (A 32) and **δίφθερα** in Sozomenos (*HE* III 14, 13).

Although this term seems to be the most common in monastic literature, known in both Greek and Latin texts, it appears rarely in the papyri and only then very early<sup>51</sup>.

The Coptic term for **ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧῆ** is **ⲃⲁⲗⲟⲧ** or **ⲙⲉⲗⲗⲟⲧ**, which probably stem from the Greek term<sup>52</sup>, occasionally used in Coptic texts as well<sup>53</sup>. There is also the expression **ⲩⲱⲁⲣ ⲡⲃⲁⲗⲙⲡⲉ**<sup>54</sup>, meaning literally “goatskin”, (i. e. a literal rendering of **δέρμα αἰγίου**)<sup>55</sup>. In the versions of Athanasios' *Life of Anthony*, the Coptic correspondence to the Greek **ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧῆ** is not uniform: once it is rendered as **ⲩⲱⲧⲏⲏ ⲡⲩⲱⲁⲣ**, and immediately after as **ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧⲏ** (§ 91), later as **ⲃⲁⲗⲟⲧ** (§ 92). Even the Greek **ⲙⲉⲗⲱⲧῆ** is once substituted by the synonym **ἐνδυμα δερμάτινον** (§ 47, 2), which corresponds literally to the Coptic **ⲩⲱⲧⲏⲏ ⲡⲩⲱⲁⲣ**.

The term **ⲣⲁⲅⲧⲟⲩ** in the Pachomian rule (*Praecepta* 91) was rendered in Latin as *pellis*, as we have seen above. We suspect that this Coptic term has to be understood as the **ἀνάλαβος** or scapular.

<sup>44</sup> Much has been said about this garment: A. BAZZERO, **ΜΑΦΟΡΤΗΣ**. *Studi della Scuola di Papirologia* II (1917) 95–102; J. BEAUCAMP, Organisation domestique et rôles sexuels: Les papyrus byzantins. *DOP* 47 (1993) 185–94, 187; on the origin of the term, *P. Meyer* 95, 6. The term in Coptic: **ⲙⲁⲅⲱⲣⲁ**, M. HASITZKA, Bekleidung und Textilien auf unedierten koptischen Papyri der Papyrussammlung in Wien: Termini. *GRAFMA. Bulletin du groupe de recherche archéologique française et internationale sur les métiers depuis l'Antiquité* 2 (1998) 28–34, 31; **ⲙⲁⲅⲱⲣⲧⲉ**, S.J. CLACKSON, Coptic and Greek Texts relating to the Hermoupolite Monastery of Apa Apollo (*Griffith Institute monographs*). Oxford 2000, *P. MonApollo* 55, 4.

<sup>45</sup> *Collectio alphabetica*, *Theodorus* 28. *PG* 65, 192B and 193D.

<sup>46</sup> As Draguet identifies all three terms (DRAGUET [see n. 14] 103–4).

<sup>47</sup> Mainly in the *Apophthegmata Patrum* (*collectio alphabetica*, *Macarius* 5. *PG* 65, 264; *Motio* 2. *PG* 65, 300; *Bessarion* 4. *PG* 65, 140; *collectio anonyma* 207, 215, 278; *collectio systematica* VII 48, 2.

<sup>48</sup> *Inst.* I 7.

<sup>49</sup> DRAGUET (see n. 14) 99.

<sup>50</sup> Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca* II 89.

<sup>51</sup> *PHeid.* II 217 (2 BC); *PMich.* VI 421 (AD 41–54); *PTebt.* I 38 (113 BC)

<sup>52</sup> CRUM (see n. 25) 38b; E. DÉVAUD, Notes de Lexicologie Copte. *Le Muséon* 36 (1923) 83–99, 91.

<sup>53</sup> IV *Kings* 2, 8; III *Kings* 19, 13.

<sup>54</sup> For example, in *P. Yale Inv.* 1814, MACCOULL (see n. 17) 57.

<sup>55</sup> DRAGUET (see n. 14) 100. **ⲩⲱⲁⲣ** is used in *Vita sahidica* (LEFORT [see n. 26], 273, 15).



## SYMBOLISM OF THE MONASTIC GARMENTS

Evagrius Pontikos in his prologue to the *Practical Treatise* explains to his friend Anatolios the symbolism of each of the garments. The *cucullus* is the symbol of the grace of God, protector of reason, and symbol of Christ's childhood. The κολόβιον exposes arms and hands and thus symbolises a life devoid of hypocrisy and vain glory. The ἀνάλαβος or scapular in the form of a cross, is the symbol of the faith in Christ. The ζώνη or belt holds the kidneys and restricts any desire or temptation<sup>56</sup>. The μηλωτή, being a goatskin, symbolizes mortification, and thus, by wearing it, the monk wears, as it were, the death of Christ.

Cassian (*Inst.* I 3–7) on the other hand, assigns the following symbolism to the pieces of the monastic habit: the *cucullus* is simplicity and innocence, related again to childhood. The *colobion*, and the fact of having naked arms, means the renunciation of all the actions of this world. The linen tunic reminds the monk that he is dead to all material life. This symbolism is applied by Evagrius to the μηλωτή. The ἀνάλαβος, which he also calls *rebracchiatoria* or *subcinctoria* and describes quite accurately, symbolizes the disposition to work, easily explained by the function of this article of clothing. The μηλωτή symbolises the fastness in virtue. The belt has the same symbolism as in Evagrius, (i. e. the avoidance of any carnal desire).

The *Apophthegmata Patrum* (*collectio anonyma* 55)<sup>57</sup> provide a description of the symbolism of these garments, too. The hood is the symbol of guilelessness, the scapular of the cross, and the belt of strength and courage:

Περὶ τοῦ σχήματος τοῦ ἁγίου τῶν μοναχῶν. Ἔλεγον οἱ γέροντες ὅτι τὸ κουκούλιον σημεῖόν ἐστι τῆς ἀκακίας· ὁ ἀνάλαβος τοῦ σταυροῦ· ἡ δὲ ζώνη τῆς ἀνδρείας.

And according to Maximos Confessor, in his *Quaestiones et dubia* 67 (PG 90, 840–1), the tunic, κολόβιον, leaving the arms naked, means that ἡθικὴ φιλοσοφία has to be put on after it has removed the active effects (τὰς πρακτικὰς ... ἐνεργείας) of sin. The hands are the symbol of πρᾶξις, action, and ἐνέργεια, energy or strength. The belt, ζώνη, because it is made of dead skin and embraces the kidneys and the navel, symbolizes necrosis or mortification by continence. The scapular, having the form of a cross, means that we have to crucify ourselves to the world and the world to ourselves. The hood is the Grace of God, which guards and keeps our mind safe.

Finally, let us look at the text of the Prophecy of Karour<sup>58</sup>, one of Pachomios' disciples:

ΕΠΜΑ ΠΤΒΑΒΙΤΩΗ ΠΑΠΑ ΠΑΧΟΜΙΑ ΑΤΕΤΗΚΑΤΤΗΓΤΗ ΚΑΖΗΓ ΠΤΕΡΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΕΙ. ΕΠΜΑ ΠΤΟΛΟΜΩΗ ΑΤΕΤΗ  
 ΨΙ ΜΜΑΓ ΠΤΓΠΟΤΑΚΗ ΠΤΜΠΤΚΟΓΙ. ΕΠΜΑ ΜΠΜΟΧΨ ΠΤΑΤΗΜΟΓΡ ΠΤΕΤΗΓΠΕ ΠΖΗΤΨ, ΑΤΕΤΗΨΩΠΕ ΕΤΕΤΗ  
 ΒΗΛ ΕΒΟΛ.

“Instead of the tunic of Apa Pachomios, you have stripped yourselves of his prudence. Instead of the hood, you have taken away the obedience of childhood. Instead of the belt with which you tied your loins, you have become dissolute.”

As we have seen above, with the help of this text in comparison to the others, even if they present a very altered line of tradition, we have reached a conclusion regarding the meaning of the Coptic term τολομωη (*cf.* above).

There is, of course, much more to say about the subject. Not only about other terms in Coptic and Greek in other works of Patrology, but also about the evolution of this terminology, as well as about the reality behind the words in later centuries. This has been merely an elementary analysis of the basic texts on the monastic habit, which has tried to clarify the problems of transmission and adaptation from one language into the other.

<sup>56</sup> This symbolism goes back to Philo Alexandrinus, *Quaest. Exod.* I 19.

<sup>57</sup> Ms. Coisl. gr. 126, ed. F. NAU, *Histoires des solitaires égyptiens. ROC* 12–14 (1907–09).

<sup>58</sup> Codex P. Morgan 586 t. LI 3, LEFORT (see n. 2) 102.



JONATHAN SHEPARD

## Closing address: 'Invisible Byzantiums'

The papers in this collection deal with a very broad range of themes and material objects and one's first impression may be of their sheer heterogeneity or apparent mutual incompatibility. The goals of material well-being and freedom or relief from pain are, after all, rather different from those of avoiding sin and seeking unimpeded access to the divine. Such access may best be attained through the self-denial and physical suffering sought by holy men, and in that scale of values material want and physical pain could acquire highly positive connotations. Yet a number of connecting themes do run through these papers, for all the diversity of their subject matter and approaches. Viewed in the round, they show that the divide between material health and well-being and a sound spiritual condition did not appear as clear-cut to many Byzantines or other peoples of the pre-industrial period as it may do to us. In fact, there was a widespread assumption that these two conditions were closely interdependent and in practice many ordinary people seem to have tried, in their pursuit of material security and well-being and also of spiritual salvation, to have the best of both worlds. That there were perceived boundaries and tensions between the worlds of body and soul is undeniable. But the interaction and varying degrees of coexistence and cooperation between them are one of the more distinctive features of the Byzantine way of life and death. This ambivalent – and volatile – quality of the Byzantine experience is apt to remain elusive because it was seldom articulated or delineated, and it provides one of the reasons why one may justifiably speak of 'Invisible Byzantiums'. The contributions to this volume offer new means of probing behind the smooth façade of the familiar sources authorized by Church and State. They conjure up a scene at once variegated and three-dimensional, accommodating currents of thought and custom that long co-existed, without ever being wholly integrated. And they lay down markers for new pathways to the 'invisible' realms of Byzantium through making fuller use of its highly visible, sometimes apparently humdrum, material culture<sup>1</sup>.

By demonstrating the constant interplay between everyday life and the supernatural and transcendent spheres, this collection may also reveal something of Byzantium's hidden strengths as both society and empire. It picks out 'the ties that bind', the affinities that made Byzantines the readier, if not always positively to heed the State's commands or to meet its needs, at least to endure. A thread running through many *prima facie* unrelated papers in the collection is their intimation of a 'community' of one sort or another. 'Community' is, of course, a loose term and it may be applied to many different kinds of grouping. It can cover, for example, the deliberately formed communities of those opting to live as monks, and these receive attention from the Priestmonk Justin (141–45) and from S. Torallas Tovar's study of the names and symbolism of monastic garments in Egypt (219–24). A gazetteer of all the consciously joined, self-regulating, communities in the Byzantine world would also include the many groups of venerators of particular saints and their icons; the guilds in Constantinople with their respective sets of rules and, in the case of the notaries at least, clear-cut preconditions for membership;<sup>2</sup> and also the broad peer groups of professionals such as medical doctors.

Several papers illuminate the world of Byzantine medical practitioners. Thus S. Geroulanos offers a graphic demonstration of the surgical operations described in Byzantine medical texts (129–34), collating the terms used with the medical instruments found in archaeological contexts, always assuming that these objects have been dated, and their functions identified, correctly. His data matches recent inferences drawn from the writings of Leon Iatrosophistes as to the sophistication of practising surgeons in the ninth century: it has been suggested that 'more was going on in surgery than [Leon] records'<sup>3</sup>. This offers a substantive rebuttal to the

<sup>1</sup> Numerous aspects of everyday life, including medicine, marriage and the social and cultural life of townsfolk, receive due attention in C. G. ANGELIDI (ed.), *Η καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο* (Πρακτικά του Α' διεθνούς συμποσίου). Athens 1989.

<sup>2</sup> Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen, 1.1–2, ed. and German tr. J. KODER (*CFHB* 33). Vienna 1991, 74–5.

<sup>3</sup> See L. J. BLIQUEZ, The surgical instrumentarium of Leon Iatrosophistes. *Medicina nei Secoli* 11 (1999) 291–322 at 318. See also IDEM, Two lists of Greek surgical instruments and the state of surgery in Byzantine times. *DOP* 38 (1984) 187–204.

view that the various lists of Greek names of surgical apparatus composed between the ninth and the fifteenth centuries were ‘merely bookish catalogues of instruments used in an earlier age’, a view which the literary sources alone cannot fully dispose of<sup>4</sup>. They suggest that the expertise and, ultimately, the empirical approaches to illness current during Antiquity were not wholly effaced by the cultural changes of the sixth and seventh centuries, drastic as these may well have been<sup>5</sup>.

A slightly different angle is provided by A. Diamandopoulos, who reconstructs the methods of what amounts to a profession of urologists (93–99). It seems that these specialists examined urine as a means of assessing general health, while using steam-baths as a way of inducing sweat and thus gaining additional body fluids for analysis and diagnosis. Diamandopoulos shows that new works on urology were still being composed in the later Byzantine period, in a conscious attempt to fill the gaps left by ancient writers. And yet the main intellectual scheme was still that of Antiquity and, in the case of medical practice, this meant Galen, whose standing in Byzantium is subtly delineated by V. Nutton (171–76). The Byzantines took what seemed to them necessary and useful from Galen’s voluminous works in order to create a ‘new medical orthodoxy’, whose adherents themselves constituted a kind of community. They filled in many gaps, but always within the framework that they had devised for themselves out of Galen’s works.

Besides these professional and intellectual communities there were other, more tangible if less rigorously defined, entities such as neighbourhoods in towns and the rural settlements. Their composition was determined more by the accidents of physical proximity, family and birth than by career choice or training. Within these groups, too, a fair degree of mutual cooperation was needed, even if their ‘group identity’ was seldom formally defined. This is obviously the case with Middle Byzantine towns. Many of these were, in H. Buchwald’s words, ‘machines for defence’, packing many inhabitants inside their walls; their ‘canyon-like’ streets would have been easily defensible by a smallish number of troops (57–74). There was, as Buchwald observes, every incentive for property-owners to erect tall buildings and thereby create extra living-quarters. This, however, raised various problems, for example issues of privacy and the blocking of views. Many households in such towns were unavoidably interlinked because the dwellings were built choc-à-bloc, as they had been in Justinian’s era.

For her part, C. Saliou demonstrates the difficulties caused by balconies, which brought air, light and aesthetic views to their owners but were liable to intrude upon the privacy of households which they overlooked (199–205). This was a recurrent problem in Constantinople, and the ‘permanent darkness’ created in the streets by the overshadowing structures of the rich was remarked upon by Odo of Deuil in the mid-twelfth century<sup>6</sup>. Saliou shows how the legislation attempted to provide for problems that are all too familiar to the neighbours of twenty-first century high-rise buildings. But much as the authorities tried to lay down guidelines in the form of legislation, reconciliation of the different points of view remained largely a matter for the households in a neighbourhood to work out among themselves. In other words, a considerable amount of informal arbitration and cooperation between neighbours probably underpinned the civil peace in the capital that impressed visitors from afar, and this most probably holds true of Byzantine provincial towns, too.

Some groupings were formed largely by the accidents of family and geography while others were entered into deliberately by, for example, gaining a qualification, undergoing an initiation procedure or participation in a cult. The former tended to be primarily ‘territorial’ – exclusively so, in the case of neighbourhoods in towns and fiscal units in the countryside – whereas practitioners of ‘professions’ and the members of ‘craft guilds’, trading associations and confraternities were not necessarily anchored to any one spot. Neither were the devotees of saints, and the claim of many saints’ Lives that their heroes drew admirers from afar and from all walks of life should not be dismissed as invariably stereotypical. For understandable reasons of genre the

<sup>4</sup> See BLIQUEZ, *Surgical instrumentarium*, 292. Bliquez himself argues strongly that writers such as Leon Iatrosophistes were drawing on their own personal experience of conducting a wide range of operations.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, contributions to the Dumbarton Oaks symposium on Byzantine medicine (= *DOP* 38 [1984]), ed. J. SCARBOROUGH, including V. NUTTON, *From Galen to Alexander: aspects of medicine and medical practice in late antiquity*; J. DUFFY, *Byzantine medicine in the sixth and seventh centuries: aspects of teaching and practice*; S. ASHBROOK HARVEY, *Physicians and ascetics in John of Ephesus: an expedient alliance*; M. DOLS, *Insanity in Byzantine and Islamic medicine*. *DOP* 38 (1984) 1–14; 21–7; 87–93; 135–48.

<sup>6</sup> Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. V. G. BERRY. New York 1948, 64–5. See also R. MACRIDES, *Constantinople: the Crusaders’ Gaze*, in: EADEM (ed.), *Travel in the Byzantine World*. Aldershot 2002, 193–212, at 196.

saints' Lives make their heroes the lynchpins of these communities of admirers, disciples and beneficiaries and give the impression that single-minded veneration of a saint or a relic was the main preoccupation of devotional groupings. But it is becoming clear that the veneration of saints and relics formed one extremity of a broad spectrum of loyalties that shaded into collegiate and commercial affiliations and on into more general predispositions towards – and practical arrangements for – mutual support. In other words, groups defined primarily by 'professional' functions such as craftsmen and traders could also have important convivial and religious traits, bringing together not merely fellow spirits but different sectors of society. Still more variegated were the confraternities, which were not confined to the practitioners of a particular trade or vocation and which are most clearly attested by evidence of provincial origin. Judging by the charter re-affirming and describing a confraternity in the region of twelfth-century Thebes, the members combined support for one another on earth with active veneration of the icon of the Theotokos Naupaktetissa and prayers for one another. The conjunction of the material and the heavenly planes is reflected in the fairly even balance in the membership of the confraternity – twenty clerics and twenty-nine of the laity. Among them are members both of prominent families of office-holders and of families whose names derived from their crafts or trades<sup>7</sup>.

There were, of course, functional and structural differences between the various 'guilds' and commercial partnerships<sup>8</sup> on the one hand and, on the other, the confraternities and still looser-knit associations which came together for mutual support and the joint-veneration of a saint. The latter congregations were so disparate and, in many cases, so amorphous that one might doubt whether they really amounted to a 'community' in any meaningful sense. But for all the variety in shapes and sizes the fore-mentioned groupings were all, in a sense, 'horizontal' and they reached across diverse sectors of Byzantine urban society, when not formally constituting peer groups or guilds. And even the guilds should not be viewed as mere organs of the State<sup>9</sup>. The largely voluntary, often overlapping, nature of these associations gave them qualities of resilience and adaptability to changing circumstances. Persons belonging to them could pool resources so as to provide financial and moral support for those in need, often one another but also, on occasion, the manifestly wretched beyond their ranks, for example the unburied and abandoned dead<sup>10</sup>. The various commercial, charitable and pious associations are the largely unsung counterparts to the vertical axes and hierarchical structures of the Byzantine imperial order that loom so large in the extant literary sources. They register diffuse yet deep-rooted devotional tendencies that are seldom hymned in the polite literature of the metropolis. Being pluralistic and having many mundane practical concerns, they did not generate the kind of outpourings that individual holy men evoked. No narratives of their collective feats and endeavours, paralleling the Lives of individual saints, seem to have emanated from the members of confraternities and other such voluntary associations.

In comparison with the vertical axes of Byzantine society, the horizontal ones of town and country are difficult to trace in our extant literary sources. They constitute an elusive, yet not quite 'invisible', aspect of Byzantium<sup>11</sup>. The sources stemming from the imperial Establishment or focused on its activities present that

<sup>7</sup> J. NESBITT – J. WIITA, A confraternity of the Comnenian era. *BZ* 68 (1975) 360–84 at 364–73 (text and translation), 377–8, 381–4; P. HORDEN, The Confraternities of Byzantium, in: W. J. SHEILS – D. WOOD (eds.), *Voluntary Religions (Studies in Church History 23)*. Oxford 1986, 25–45 at 34–8. See also G. DAGRON, "Ainsi rien n'échappera à la réglementation". Etat, Eglise, corporations, confréries, in: V. KRAVARI – J. LEFORT – C. MORRISSON (eds.), *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin*, II. Paris 1991, 155–82, at 175–81.

<sup>8</sup> The form of business association termed *syntrophia* in later Byzantine sources and generally comprising only three individuals is closely comparable to the *koinonia* or *koinotes* of Late Antiquity: P. SCHREINER, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte in Handschriften der Biblioteca Vaticana (StT 344)*. Vatican City 1991, 404–06, 431–3.

<sup>9</sup> It is noteworthy that Constantinopolitan guilds featuring in the Book of the Eparch mostly possessed their own customs and ordinances. These may be detected behind the subsequent revision and codification carried out by the City authorities which were responsible for the issue of the Book: Leo VI, *Eparchenbuch*, ed. KODER, 21, 23–31, 33 (introduction). See also J. KODER, *Delikt und Strafe im Eparchenbuch*. *JÖB* 41 (1991) 113–31.

<sup>10</sup> Comparable features may be observed in the associations of craftsmen and tradesfolk in later medieval towns in the West: G. ROSSER, *Crafts, guilds and the negotiation of work in the medieval town*. *Past and Present* 154 (1997) 3–31, at 19–22, 27–9.

<sup>11</sup> The imprint of pious lay associations may well be discernible in tales of journeys to, and visions of, the Other Side: Jane BAUN, *The Living and the Dead in Middle Byzantine Apocalypses: Confraternities, Commemoration, Patronage and Purgatio*, paper delivered to the Byzantine Studies Seminar, University of Oxford, January 15, 2002.

version of Byzantium which ‘worked’ best for them. Axiomatic to this was the notion of the emperor as the measure of all things on earth. One’s place in society should be in accordance with his will, which was exercised on behalf of God. This is most obviously the case with official propaganda, court rhetoric, legislation and other formal constructs and prescriptions issued from on high<sup>12</sup>. But it also holds true of sources of a more functional nature, such as texts relating to the taxation of the inhabitants of rural settlements. These sources, whether they are prescriptive fiscal treatises<sup>13</sup> or, in rare instances, working documents, tend to concentrate on such communities and populations as were clear-cut and fixed and therefore relatively straightforward to tax. The texts tend to presuppose arable farming and crops that could be harvested with a degree of regularity every year. Their details of peasants’ fiscal obligations offer a plausible picture of those who made their living mainly from this form of agriculture. But sources such as the cadaster of Thebes<sup>14</sup> or the deeds relating to the privileges of Athonite monasteries are less forthcoming about life in the uplands, woodlands and wetlands or about the rural economy which they sustained<sup>15</sup>. A. Dunn draws attention to the case of Eastern Macedonia (101–09). He emphasizes that many forms of peasant activity other than arable farming did not show up in the tax rolls or other standard documents of Byzantine officialdom. Viticulture was rooted to particular plots of land, but the products of stock-raising and especially of forms of pastoralism were harder to pin down and tax at the same rate, year by year. The scarcity of fiscal regulations or other details concerning these activities at grass roots needs to be allowed for in debates as to how far agrarian households and communities were self-sustaining and the overall viability of the peasant unit. Dunn has uncovered considerable evidence of adaptability to local conditions in Eastern Macedonia. For example, the pigs in its forests seem to have been fattened for the market in large quantities: peasant producers were fully capable of diversifying their economic activities, taking advantage of local variations. Provided that markets – meaning, for the most part, towns or ports – were accessible and profit was to be had from them, production of surpluses was feasible and worthwhile.

It may well be that the value of commercial exchanges and the consequent prosperity of at least some areas in the medieval Byzantine provinces have been underestimated, partly because of the restricted scope of administrative texts concerning taxation and partly because of the way in which the archaeological evidence tends to have been approached hitherto. The same may perhaps be said of the frequency of local and regional exchanges. Some light on the economy of Asia Minor during the ‘Dark Age’ has been cast by recent field surveys and by a few more systematic excavations. Judging by surveys in South Central Anatolia, settlements seem to have been numerous and robust in hilly areas whereas in the plains the population seems to have diminished from the seventh century onwards; nearly all the pottery appears to have been made locally<sup>16</sup>. A slightly different picture is emerging from the excavations at Amorium and the surveys of the rural settlements around it. Local exchanges involving low denomination coinage seem to have continued through the seventh, eighth and early ninth centuries, albeit on a smaller scale than in Late Antiquity or the central Middle Byzantine period. This has tended to escape the attention of modern students of Anatolia, because in C. S. Lightfoot’s words, ‘the scruffy copper alloy issues of the Dark Ages...even if acquired by museum staff, would in most cases not be individually registered but relegated to the ...study collection’<sup>17</sup>. Not that conditions or environments were uniform, and in fact Amorium may, as a key military centre, turn out to prove the general rule that the imperial administrative apparatus was the prime mover of significant economic activity.

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, H. HUNGER, *Prooimion. Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden* (WBS 1). Vienna, 1964, 49–73, 94–102, 109–12; H. AHRWEILER, *L’idéologie politique de l’empire byzantin*. Paris 1975, 37–55, 132–41; E. McGEER, *The Land Legislation of the Macedonian Emperors* (*Mediaeval Sources in Translation* 38). Toronto 1999, 5–6, 25–6 (introduction), 51–3 (commentary).

<sup>13</sup> See N. OIKONOMIDES, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance (IX–XI s.)*. Athens 1996, 42–61.

<sup>14</sup> N. SVORONOS, *Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XI et XII siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes*. BCH 83 (1959) 1–166, repr. in IDEM, *Études sur l’organisation intérieure, la société et l’économie de l’Empire byzantin*. London 1973, III.

<sup>15</sup> This is not to detract from the ultimate significance of corn-growing, which features prominently in late Byzantine working records of accounts and loans: SCHREINER, *Texte zur spätbyzantinischen Finanz- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 360, 429–30.

<sup>16</sup> D. BAIRD, *What can Archaeological Survey tell us about Byzantine Settlement and Land Use? – an Example from the Konya Area in South Central Anatolia*, paper delivered to the Byzantine Studies Seminar, University of Oxford, February 12, 2002.

<sup>17</sup> C. S. LIGHTFOOT, *Byzantine Anatolia: Reassessing the Numismatic Evidence*, XX congrès international des études byzantines, Table Ronde 4.23. Paris 2001, 1–5 at 4; see also IDEM, *The survival of cities in Byzantine Anatolia: the case of Amorium*. Byz 68 (1998) 56–71 at 68–70.



A prominent theme in D. Stathakopoulos' paper (211–17) is the advantages accruing to districts near administrative or military centres or with ready access to the coast, as against those inland population centres which did not enjoy 'State privileging'. His focus is on the contrasts between levels of food supply in different areas rather than on cultural differences between or within regions and such diversity is not exactly the stuff of imperial propaganda or of the working documents of the administration.

Yet the existence of what seem to be local forms of costume and ornament can sometimes be teased out of fairly well-known sources such as wall-paintings. In certain instances they appear to depict everyday realia, as M. Parani shows (181–92). She draws attention to the form of headgear worn by a midwife in a painting on Cyprus and the ear-rings worn by youths in a Serbian wall-painting. It may well be that further study of the low-value and unbeautiful artefacts – the material culture – excavated in Byzantine sites will place local variants in perspective, modifying the sense of uniformity and timelessness given by the Establishment's administrative and literary texts and by the generally conservative iconography of the symbols of Church and State.

On the whole, it is the empire's hierarchical organizations and insistently Orthodox Christian and 'Roman' self-images that prevail in modern Byzantine studies, relegating horizontal structures and regional variations to the sphere of 'invisible Byzantium' in effect if not intention. Yet there has been growing attention to the various kinds of 'minority', conscious exceptions to the norm, dwelling beneath the emperor's sway<sup>18</sup>. And the Twentieth International Congress of Byzantine Studies held in Paris in August 2001 highlighted the importance of the rural community for understanding the household, village and other local units of Byzantium<sup>19</sup>. There is also mounting recognition of the differences between regions. It has recently been remarked that 'the history of the landscapes of Byzantium...has yet to be written for each of the empire's constituent regions'<sup>20</sup>. Welcome as these observations are, it is important that the spotlight should not turn to the opposite extreme and focus solely on the local, sectional, and private facets of society, as if they were in stark contradiction to the public face of the empire. There is need for better appreciation of the intersection between the official and the popular and communal planes of society. In many ways the strong tendency to convergence – synergy – of these diverse planes holds the key to the distinctiveness of the Byzantine empire and also to its peculiar resilience and durability. There was, after all, no inevitability in the close cooperation between the imperial Establishment and the organized Church, monastic communities and congregations and cult-followers at grass-roots. The very emphasis in court rhetoric, ceremonial and iconography on the merits of harmony between the emperor, the patriarch and other senior churchmen suggests that it could not in fact be taken for granted.

This is in no way to deny that, at least in the Early and Middle Byzantine periods, more often than not a high degree of collaboration was achieved between the imperial authorities and what may loosely be termed 'the populace at large'. A number of instances of this collusion are well-known, particularly in the Schauptplatz that was Constantinople. The citizens as well as institutions such as monasteries were expected to do their bit towards putting on a show of pomp and circumstance, and many seem to have been willing to do so. Thus processions along the triumphal way from the Golden Gate to the Arch of the Milion and along the other main routes passed beneath hangings of precious cloths, brocade and arrays of gold and silver vessels and other ornaments set out by those living along the thoroughfares<sup>21</sup>. Such drawing on the luxury goods of private citizens and churches could be viewed as an admission of the limitations upon the empire's resources. On-lookers who were out of sympathy found fault with the populace's participation in State ceremonial. Liudprand

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, H. AHRWEILER – A. E. LAIOU (eds.), *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*. Washington, D. C. 1998; D. C. SMYTHE (ed.), *Strangers to Themselves. The Byzantine Outsider*. Aldershot 2000; P. HERZ – J. KORBES (eds.), *Ethnische und religiöse Minderheiten in Kleinasien. Von der hellenistischen Antike bis in das byzantinische Mittelalter (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 2)*. Wiesbaden 1998.

<sup>19</sup> See XX Congrès international des études byzantines. Pré-actes, I. Séances Plénières. Paris 2001: L'évolution du village dans l'empire byzantin V<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles, 61–88; II. Tables Rondes, Économie et société, 9–54; Littérature et culture, 237–44; III. Communications Libres, Civilisation, 215–28.

<sup>20</sup> B. GEYER, Physical Factors in the Evolution of the Landscape and Land Use, in: *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A. E. LAIOU. Washington, D.C. 2002, I 31–45.

<sup>21</sup> Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, II 15, ed. J. J. REISKE, I. Bonn 1829, 572–3; John Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. H. THURN (*CFHB* 5). Berlin–New York 1973, 417. M. McCORMICK, *Eternal Victory*. Cambridge 1990, 207–08.



of Cremona chooses to ridicule the crowds of ‘traders and low-born folk’ who lined Nikephoros II Phokas’ route from the palace to St Sophia with their cheap-looking shields and spears, and he derides the ‘barefoot multitude’<sup>22</sup>. But a more positive gloss can be placed on the essentially voluntary nature of the citizens’ involvement in these ceremonies. The City’s guilds probably played an important part in supplying decorations and skilled manpower for them. But one must remember that Constantinople’s guilds had traditions of their own and they were to a large extent self-regulating, even while cooperating closely with the imperial authorities and being ultimately subject to their sanctions<sup>23</sup>.

In that sense, the trellis of mutual support ran ‘vertically’ as well as ‘horizontally’. The citizens’ prevailing order and – in the form of ritualised competition between factions – ‘team spirit’ were noted by visitors such as the Muslim prisoner-of-war, Harun ibn Yahya. He remarked upon the Hippodrome beside the palace and gained the impression – no less significant for being exaggerated – that ‘all who are in Constantinople attend these races and look at them’<sup>24</sup>. There can be little doubt that these impressions were deliberately fostered. The gatherings to watch races, games and ceremonies in the Hippodrome demonstrated the broad base of the imperial order no less effectively for being quite infrequent<sup>25</sup>. The spectacle of a ruler acting as onlooker, patron and judge over the proceedings in majestic concord with his subjects had appeal far beyond the empire’s borders. Scenes from the Hippodrome – games, chariot-races and the emperor watching from his box beside tiers of spectators – were depicted in wall-paintings in the western staircase towers of Saint Sophia in Kiev<sup>26</sup>.

The image of the different sectors of Byzantine society in common obeisance to the emperor is well-enough known, and that it should have been noticed and envied by foreign potentates is unsurprising. It is much harder to gauge the extent to which reality matched the rhetoric: how enthusiastic and how broadly based was support for the imperial order in the capital itself, and in the provinces? And if the support was often widespread and can – at least on occasion – be shown to have been active and positive, how did this come about? This collection of papers offers answers to these questions, through its interlinking of the spiritual and the material dimensions. The measures taken by the State to provide for the material well-being of persons of direct concern to it worked in tandem with the more conspicuous and highly publicized rites of worship and celebration. The latter proclaimed hopes of heavenly aid for all. In making the palace complex together with St Sophia a kind of metronome for constant intercession with and access to the divine, the emperor tapped into the beliefs, fears and yearnings of *homo byzantinus*. The imperial order gained strength from its appeal to the private concerns, whether material or spiritual, of so many of its subjects. The authorities provided an orderly setting for large-scale religious rites, as well as staging court ceremonies in which the emperor himself was centre-stage.

Thus, under ultimately imperial auspices, the profane ambiance of the market square near the Hodegon monastery was transformed into a scene of liturgical performance and supplication that was believed to be prompting direct divine intervention: the City as a whole was elevated and transformed into the New Jerusalem each Tuesday, as its inhabitants processed with the icon of the Hodegetria the short distance to the square. On several other occasions each year the icon was paraded through the streets to venues such as the Pantokrator monastery, St Sophia and the imperial palace. By the eleventh century a confraternity of laymen was responsible for transporting the icon in the processions, forming the nucleus of what de Clavijo at the beginning of the fifteenth century called ‘a great concourse of folk’<sup>27</sup>. This sort of collective re-enactment of sacred

<sup>22</sup> Liudprand of Cremona, *Legatio*, 9, *Opera omnia*, ed. P. CHIESA (CCCM 156). Turnhout 1998, 191; transl. F. A. WRIGHT, *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona*. London 1930, 240.

<sup>23</sup> KODER, *Delikt und Strafe*, 123–4; J. SHEPARD, *Silks, skills and opportunities in Byzantium: some reflexions*. *BMGS* 21 (1997) 246–57 at 250–2.

<sup>24</sup> A. VASILIEV, *Harun-ibn-Yahya and his description of Constantinople*. *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (1932) 149–63, at 155. See also S. MÉTIVIER, *Note sur l’Hippodrome de Constantinople vu par les Arabes*. *TM* 13 (2000) 175–80, at 176–7.

<sup>25</sup> For the engagement of the population in the events and the emperor’s role as prize-giver, see G. DAGRON *et alii*, *L’organisation et le déroulement des courses d’après le Livre des Cérémonies*. *TM* 13 (2000) 3–200, at 124–8, 158, 165–70.

<sup>26</sup> V. LAZAREV, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics from the XI to the XVI Century*. London 1966, 56–7 and figs. 40, 41; fig. 28, p. 238.

<sup>27</sup> Cited by N. ŠEVČENKO, ‘Servants of the Holy Icon,’ in: C. MOSS – K. KIEFER (eds.), *Byzantine East, Latin West. Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*. Princeton 1995, 547–53, at p. 548. See also A. LIDOV, *Miracle-working Icons of the Mother of God*, in: M. VASSILAKI (ed.), *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*. Athens 2000, 47–57, at 50–1. A.

events, as well as the shrines, relics and topography, brought substantiation to the idea that Constantinople was the image of the first Jerusalem. As with the tableau of imperial order in the Hippodrome, this concept exerted powerful appeal on external elites. The icon of the Mother of God sent to Polotsk in the mid-twelfth century by Manuel I Komnenos and Patriarch Luke Chrysoberges at the request of Euphrosyne seems to have attracted similar veneration in the Rus town to that enjoyed by the icon of the Hodegetria in Constantinople<sup>28</sup>. And from the late fifteenth century onwards the Tuesday ritual surrounding the miraculous replica of the icon of the Mother of God in Moscow elaborated further variants of 'liturgical performance'. It celebrated the presence of the Mother of God in Moscow and sought to ensure her protection for her city, much as the Byzantines had sought her help for Constantinople<sup>29</sup>. In this conjunction popular devotion to a wonder-working icon, priest-conducted rites and the ruler's cares of state all had their place. Not dissimilar instances of this synergy may be found in the early medieval West, for example in the procession of the 'Greek School' bearing a celebrated icon of Christ the Pantokrator through the streets of Rome under the auspices of Otto III on the Vigil of the Festival of her Assumption in 1000<sup>30</sup>.

The rites and customs enshrouding the imperial court and City were attractive to Byzantine provincials as well as to foreigners. In many ways these 'signifiers' were intended to mark out the City as specially favoured by the Mother of God and other supernatural powers, 'God-protected' and supreme as the *polis basileuousa*. But precisely for this reason persons outside the magic circle were eager to partake of the benefits and blessings that the City so emphatically enjoyed. Those who did not, as individuals, aspire to rise high in the imperial service could still declare or imply some sort of affinity with the centre and, combining fidelity towards the imperial order with faith in its supernatural protectors, they could at the same time hope to gain for themselves direct access to those higher powers.

This could be achieved by means of religious cults and services and other types of ritual and also by material forms such as ornament and costume. Such appropriation of symbols is most evident and understandable in the case of the members of elites on the empire's periphery, but the desire to imitate or interact with the exemplary centre was not confined to peripheral or provincial elites. It is upon the mentalités of those living at grass-roots that closer study of finds of material objects and their archaeological contexts may well shed light. A. Muthesius shows what the systematic examination of textiles can reveal (159–69). Not only silks and other costly vestments but also plainer fabrics seem to have been styled and decorated in the manner of the products of imperial workshops. Some of the examples apparently emanate from quite low-level social strata, as Muthesius shows. This is the case with items found in the Byzantine provinces as well as those found in the ambit of external elites and there is little reason to doubt that their connotations of the imperial court and its divinely instituted order were familiar to many of their handlers and wearers. They were in vogue because of these connotations at least as much as for their purely aesthetic qualities, and very likely more so. This constituted a 'subversion of signifiers' in the sense that such imitation and adaptation diluted the original purpose of the dress-code instituted at court and in the workshops manufacturing top-quality textiles. The message of the vestments and adornments sported there was, after all, one of exclusiveness, a hierarchy of silks and symbols ranked according to one's proximity and level of service to the emperor<sup>31</sup>. However, the copying or adaptation of court garb could also mean acceptance of the imperial taxis

WEYL CARR, The Mother of God in Public, in: *op. cit.*, 325–37, at 334; C. ANGELIDI – T. PAPAMASTORAKIS, The Veneration of the Virgin Hodegetria and the Hodegon Monastery, in: *op. cit.*, 373–87, at 377–80, 382. I am very grateful to Jane Baun for the latter two references.

<sup>28</sup> I. A. SHALINA, Bogomater' efesskaia-polotskaia-korsunskiaia-toropetskaia: istoricheskie imena i arkhetyp chudotvornoy ikony, in: A. M. LIDOV (ed.), *Chudotvornaia ikona v Vizantii i drevnei Rusi*. Moscow 1996, 200–51, at 201–09, 223; LIDOV, Miracle-working Icons, 51.

<sup>29</sup> LIDOV, Miracle-working Icons, 53.

<sup>30</sup> *MGH, Poetae Latini Medii Aevi*, V 465–8; J. SHEPARD, Byzantium and the West, in: T. REUTER (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History*, III. Cambridge 1999, 605–23, at 619.

<sup>31</sup> See R. S. LOPEZ, The silk industry in the Byzantine empire. *Speculum* 20 (1945) 1–42, at 21, 41–2; A. MUTHESIUS, Crossing traditional boundaries: Grub to Glamour in Byzantine Silk Weaving, repr. in EADEM, *Studies in Byzantine and Islamic Silk Weaving*. London 1995, 173–200, at 187–8; Silk, Power and Diplomacy in Byzantium, in: *ibidem* 231–44, at 231–3; L. SIMEONOVA, In the depths of tenth-century ceremonial: the treatment of Arab prisoners of war at imperial banquets. *BMGS* 22 (1998) 75–104 at 82–6; EADEM, Constantinopolitan attitudes toward aliens and minorities, 860s–1020s. *Etudes balkaniques* 2001, no. 1, 83–98, at 85–92.

as a kind of universal style-setter and it need not imply conscious rejection or defiance. In fact these designs on fairly humdrum bits of textile may well be a key instance of the effective convergence of the vertical and the horizontal axes in Byzantine society mentioned earlier. Such evocation of imperial symbols may often register pride and one-upmanship among members of local communities. If, as is conceivable, the Theban confraternity's veneration of the icon of the Theotokos Naupaktetissa owed some inspiration to the cult of the Hodegetria icon in Constantinople, this could represent acknowledgement of the capital's rites, directly devotional as well as imperial, as being definitive. It would be in key with the prayers that were said for the emperor and the patriarch as well as for fellow members of the confraternity<sup>32</sup>.

These hints of the extensive complex of centripetal forces exerted from Constantinople need to be borne in mind when one considers the practical steps taken by the State to provide for its subjects' earthly needs. A group of papers in our collection deals with the organization of water and food supplies and the attention paid to public health and other preconditions of physical survival. Here, too, an elaborate form of complementing the material with the spiritual dimension may be observed. Stathakopoulos shows that the priorities of the government were quite clear-cut (211–17). Feeding and protecting the inhabitants of the capital was of paramount concern; the material needs of the other towns and populations did not receive the same degree of painstaking attention, even when they were of outstanding strategic and administrative importance. The implementation of this strategy seems to have functioned effectively for a very long time. There are very few records of famines in Constantinople that were induced by enemy sieges in Late Antiquity, and careful attention was still being paid to the welfare and wishes of the citizens of Constantinople in the twelfth century. As M. Grünbart notes, an oration of Eustathios Kataphloron concerning the shortage of water in Constantinople in 1168/69 evoked a response from the emperor, in the form of repairs to an aqueduct (135–39). To ensure abundant supplies of drinking water in the capital was in part a matter of prestige, since water of high quality needed to be fresh and this, in turn, required Herculean feats of organization on the part of the authorities. As E. Kislinger puts it, for Byzantine society of the early middle ages “(fresh) water is essential for being, (tasty) wine improves the quality of well-being” (147–54).

Inevitably, such standards could not easily be maintained even for other cities of major strategic concern such as Thessalonica, and this did not escape the notice of their inhabitants. Stathakopoulos remarks upon the implications of the miracle-tales of the diversion of grain ships from their intended destination of Constantinople in 597 and around 608–11. Reportedly, on both occasions Saint Demetrius appeared to the officials in charge of the shipment of grain. He ordered them to turn the ships round and sail to his city, Thessalonica, which was being blockaded by the Slavs and stricken by famine. The tales seem to take it for granted that the capital has first call on resources but indicate that a community's supernatural protector might overrule the customary order of priorities. Similar awareness of the relatively low priority accorded to Thessalonica is shown in John Kaminiates' complaint about imperial governors' neglect of its fortifications on the eve of the Muslim raiders' assault on the city in 904<sup>33</sup>. While awareness among the more educated provincials of this order of priorities is unremarkable in itself, it is striking that outright and extensive protests about government neglect of, or discrimination against, provincial populations seldom feature in our sources before the last quarter of the twelfth century<sup>34</sup>. This is, of course, partly a reflexion of the sparseness of non-hagiographical literary source material concerning the Byzantine provinces. And in any case, the assumptions that external foes could harry coastal regions and, up to the middle of the tenth century, that Muslim raiders could range quite easily deep into Anatolia were engrained in Byzantine strategic thinking. To higher-placed and reflective inhabitants of the provinces it will have been apparent that this state of affairs was virtually immutable, while the remainder had little choice but to resign themselves to their lot. There was not much that they could do out of their own resources to alter it, and the central government's suspiciousness concerning potential military revolts in border zones placed a dampener on local moves towards self-defence and self-reliance. But valid and important as these negative considerations are, they do not wholly explain how or why

<sup>32</sup> NESBITT – WITA, *Confraternity*, 364–5, 369; HORDEN, *Confraternities*, 38. The need for further investigation of the interaction between rituals in society at large and imperial ceremonial was noted by M. McCORMICK, *Analyzing Byzantine ceremonies. JÖB* 35 (1985) 1–20, at 15–16.

<sup>33</sup> Ioannis Caminiatae *De expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. G. BÖHLIG (*CFHB* 4). Berlin–New York 1973, 16–17.

<sup>34</sup> See M. ANGOLD, *The road to 1204: the Byzantine background to the Fourth Crusade. Journal of Medieval History* 25 (1999) 257–78, at 264–5, 270–2.

Byzantine society remained cohesive for so long, very often in default of material means of support or military protection. This has a great deal to do with the religious beliefs and expectations held in common across broad swathes of the population in many different locales. These values, and the diverse networks of mutual support entwined around them, fostered not just acquiescence in the status quo but even positive enthusiasm for the privileged, 'God-protected' status of the *polis basileuousa* – and also an appetite for its silks, textiles and other hall-marked manufactures<sup>35</sup>.

A further aspect of the problem remains to be addressed. Byzantine attitudes towards the interaction between everyday matters and the unseen world were not what might be expected from a twenty-first century perspective. The papers dealing with the interrelationship between body and soul may help to explain why the disasters inflicted by nature and man could be tolerated and viewed positively at the same time as elaborate practical measures were taken to avert or alleviate them. Suffering might be accepted as sent from Above by way of chastisement and for the good of one's soul, yet remedial medicine was studied and practised. What might now seem to be arrantly inconsistent stances did not pose quite the same contradictions for the Byzantines of the earlier middle ages or subsequent generations.

There existed, at the intellectual level, a variety of theories about the interrelationship between the well-being of the body and the soul. On the one hand, following the example of early Christian and other eastern traditions, it could be held that bodily pain and deprivation was actually good for the soul. On the other, the body could be regarded as an expression of the state of the soul and remedial measures for the soul might bring about bodily health, viewed as a desirable condition in itself.

Such ideas about mind, soul and body were, admittedly, accessible in their entirety only to members of the highly educated elite, and one might reasonably question whether they had much to offer wider social circles and this was as much a feature of provincial society as it was of the metropolis. Individuals experienced much the same uncertainties as to physical health, wealth, security and provisioning as beset most pre-industrial societies, whether their populations lived in urban centres or small rural communities. What marks out Byzantium is that ordinary Byzantines had access to an unusually wide choice of what would now be termed 'support mechanisms', ranging from the clinical professionalism of surgeons and state-organized material welfare to the assistance provided by their families, confraternities and other networks for mutual support. Much as the latter associations encompassed a broad spectrum ranging from professional or commercial concerns to social and religious activities, so the means of gaining protection or assistance ranged from empirically based medical treatment to faith, prayer and ritual. The cults of miraculous icons were amenable to a fair degree of direction from monks and churchmen and the icons that were venerated in private homes probably generally conformed to convention. But there was no tightly policed boundary between the rites and prayers sanctioned by the ecclesiastical authorities and everyday practices and beliefs. 'Magic', in the sense of assumptions about the efficacy of unauthorized rites and formulae, prayers to persons and forces other than those systematically defined by the Church and belief in the inherent powers vested in particular objects, was integral to many Byzantines' continued well-being and hopes of relief in time of need. One person's 'holy protector' might be another's 'evil demon'<sup>36</sup> and, as L. Simeonova observes in "Magic and the warding-off of barbarians" (207–10), the dividing line between the magical practices tacitly sanctioned by the church and those it condemned was very thin.

It may well be that the 2,000 or so items in the Byzantine Museum in Athens described by D. Konstantios will provide fresh evidence of Byzantine intermingling of the mundane and practical with the supernatural behind closed doors (155–58). The artefacts that he has amassed provide an invaluable series of aperçus into the private lives of the Byzantines in their households or alone, supplementing what may be inferred about their membership of various sorts of association and communities. Inevitably, these objects quite often prove difficult to evaluate, for the interpretation of finds as being amulets is apt to be contentious. In fact it is only fairly recently that archaeologists and historians of Byzantine artworks have taken more account of the pos-

<sup>35</sup> See P. ALEXANDER, The strength of empire and capital as seen through Byzantine eyes. *Speculum* 37 (1962) 339–57, at 354–6, repr. in IDEM, *Religious and Political History and Thought in the Byzantine Empire*. London 1978, III.

<sup>36</sup> A. KAZHDAN, Holy and Unholy Miracle Workers, in: H. MAGUIRE (ed.), *Byzantine Magic*. Washington, D.C. 1995, 73–82.



sible talismanic and magical connotations of objects found<sup>37</sup>. One should probably not expect these problems of identification and interpretation to be completely resolved.

Substances and objects were open to a variety of interpretations and 'readings' by the Byzantines themselves, some being more 'politically' or 'canonically' correct than others. B. Caseau demonstrates this ambiguousness very clearly in her paper on 'Incense and Fragrances' (75–92). Aromas were put to a variety of uses and myrrh, frankincense and other substances had multiple connotations and functions. Incense could be burnt at the end of a meal for purposes of recreation and pleasure, but incense-burning was also thought to expel foul vapours and banish disease, a sanitation measure in the tradition of Hippocrates. And, of course, incense was adopted by the Christian Church as a sacred property of religious worship. Caseau shows that there was profound uncertainty as to the status of 'fragrances', not only as to whether they ranked as sensual delight, disinfectant or an odour of sanctity, but also as to whether they were fundamentally Good or Bad Things. Fragrances, in so far as they were credited with powers of healing and other transforming capabilities, continued to be treated as magical substances. In enlisting them for sacred ends, Christian churchmen were, more or less literally, playing with fire. Not that they had the means to prescribe to individuals or households the values that they placed upon objects or potions or minutely to regulate the uses made of them. Coins provide an example of this. Although clearly designed to impress imperial authority and religious orthodoxy upon the beholder, they were vulnerable to subversion through being worn as amulets for apotropaic purposes or put to other unauthorized uses. The denunciations of clergymen such as John Chrysostom do not seem to have put an end to the practice, and the belief in the extraordinary protective powers of coins was still strong in Middle Byzantium<sup>38</sup>. It has fairly been observed that they, together with the imitation-coins known as medallions, bells and Christograms, had 'a propensity to pass through the permeable membrane that separated unofficial from official practices'<sup>39</sup>. They had worth not only in commerce but also 'in the invisible world of spirits and demons'. If coins, of all authority symbols, could be subsumed within unofficial belief systems, the same may be true of other, less obviously value-laden, objects in Konstantios' museum, for all the authorities' efforts to regularize the form and cult of Christian imagery in the era following Iconoclasm<sup>40</sup>.

The papers in this collection may, therefore, through their heterogeneity bring us closer to understanding the complexity of Byzantine society itself. They show the outlines of a broad assortment of belief-complexes and structures for assuring mutual, imperial and supernatural aid. It was their coexistence that endowed Byzantium as an empire with its peculiar qualities of endurance and resilience. Time and again the political and military historian is left marvelling at the survival of the capital and its attendant idea of empire when no visible means of support were to hand. The spheres of 'private' and 'public' interests and of 'official' and 'unofficial' beliefs, rites and practices were at least potentially discrete and that tensions between them were endemic can scarcely be denied. Yet a high degree of interaction between them and also of de facto coexistence was achieved: as with the material and heavenly forms of aid for the imperial order, a choice of support mechanisms was available to the individual. For example, when a member of a brotherhood developed testicular cancer at the age of sixty-two, he contemplated a surgical operation. At the same time he was indignant that this should be his 'reward' (*pleroma*) after many years of faithful service in the liturgical processions for John the Baptist and other saints. In the event, Saint Artemios heard his prayers and, happily, he was cured. The teller of this miracle-story shows no sense of incompatibility between recourse to surgery and the expectation of protection and wondrous cures from the saints; and service in collective liturgies was clearly expected to incur benefits for an individual: the two approaches were in competition rather than outright conflict<sup>41</sup>. The interweaving of self-help for the individual, public piety and belief in the blessings of the imperial order under God was supple and yet firm enough to bind a virtual archipelago of communities, regions and scattered enclaves together in one *basileia*. It may be that through the papers presented in this volume some of the less than obvious, yet not wholly invisible, qualities of Byzantium will begin to receive recognition.

<sup>37</sup> See J. RUSSELL, The Archaeological Context of Magic in the Early Byzantine Period, in: MAGUIRE (ed.), *op.cit.*, 35–50, at 44.

<sup>38</sup> H. MAGUIRE, Magic and money in the early middle ages. *Speculum* 72 (1997) 1037–54, at 1040–4.

<sup>39</sup> MAGUIRE, Magic and money, 1039.

<sup>40</sup> H. MAGUIRE, Magic and the Christian Image, in: IDEM (ed.), *op. cit.*, 51–71, at 66–71.

<sup>41</sup> A. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Varia Graeca Sacra*. St Petersburg 1909, 29; ŠEVČENKO, Servants of the Holy Icon, 553.



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## PLATES





Fig. 1: Saint Luke (Rome, Catacomb of Comodilla, fresco, 668–685)



Fig. 2: Saints Cosmas and Damian (Thessalonica, Church of Saint George “Rotunda”, mosaic, before 400 AD)



Fig. 3: Saints Cosmas and Damian (Naxos / Greece), Church of the Virgin “Drosianè”, 1st half of 7<sup>th</sup> c.)



Fig. 4: Saints Cosmas and Damian (Zakynthos / Greece, Archaeological Museum, from the Church of Christ Pantocrator, fresco, 12<sup>th</sup> c.)

PLATE 2



Fig. 1:  
Saints Cosmas and  
Damian with scenes of  
their life (Athens,  
Byzantine and Christian  
Museum, from the Church  
of Episkopè of Eurytania,  
fresco, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)



Fig. 2:  
Saints Cosmas and  
Damian (Kastoria,  
Archaeological Collection,  
from the Church of Hagioi  
Anargyroi, icon,  
1<sup>st</sup> layer 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> c.,  
2<sup>nd</sup> layer 17<sup>th</sup> c.)



Fig. 3:  
Saint Damian  
(Athos,  
Pantokrator  
Monastery,  
fresco, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)

Fig. 4:  
The  
Stavrotheke of  
Philotheos  
(Moscow,  
State Historical  
and  
Cultural  
Museum  
“Moscow  
Kreml”, silver  
repoussé,  
12<sup>th</sup> c.)







Fig. 1: Saint Cyrus (Rome, Church of Santa Maria Antiqua, fresco, circa 760)



Fig. 2: Saint Cyrus (Georgia, Timotesubani Monastery, fresco, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)



Fig. 3: Saint John (Georgia, Timotesubani Monastery, fresco, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)



Fig. 4: Saint John (Zagora / Pelion-Greece, Monastery of Hagios Athanasios, fresco, 1645/6)

PLATE 4



Fig. 1: Saints Panteleimon (= Pantaleon) and Hermolaos (Thessalonica, Church of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, fresco, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)



Fig. 2: Saint Hermolaos (Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Votive plaque copper repoussé, 11<sup>th</sup> c.)



Fig. 3: Saint Panteleimon with scenes of his life and martyrdom (Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, icon, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)



Fig. 4: Saints Samson the Hospitable and Diomedes (Thessalonica, Church of Hagios Nikolaos Orphanos, fresco, 14<sup>th</sup> c.)





Fig. 1: Saint Tryphon (Bulgaria, Backovo Monastery, Church of Saint Michael, fresco, 1841)



Fig. 2: Unidentified woman Saint (Naxos / Greece, Church of the Virgin "Drosiane", fresco, 1<sup>st</sup> half of 7<sup>th</sup> c.)



Fig. 3: Saint Paraskeve with scenes of her life and martyrdom (Athens, Byzantine and Christian Museum, silver repoussé icon-cover, AD 1784)



Fig. 4: Saint Catherine with scenes of her life and martyrdom (Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, icon, 13<sup>th</sup> c.)

PLATE 6



Fig. 1: Selected Saints (Bulgaria, Monastery of Rozen, icon, 1776)



Fig. 2: Saint Mamas (16<sup>th</sup> c.)



Fig. 3: Saint Modestus, Patriarch of Jerusalem (Paros / Greece), Collection of the Church of the Virgin “Hekatontapyliane”, icon (17<sup>th</sup> c.)



Fig. 4: Saint Longinus, Abbot of Sinai (Sinai, Monastery of Saint Catherine, mosaic, 6<sup>th</sup> c.)





Fig. 1: fol. 155v, Basil I encounters some poor citizens in a street of Constantinople



Fig. 3: fol. 55va, Theodoros Krateros throws the Arab off the horse



Fig. 2: fol. 55b, Theodoros Krateros challenges the Arab horseman



Fig. 4: fol. 66b, Patriarch Methodios exposes his genitalia



PLATE 8



Fig. 1:  
Istanbul, Saint Sophia from  
the Golden Horn (2001)



Fig. 2:  
Kütahya, Byzantine fortifica-  
tions (1975)



Fig. 3:  
Pergamum, the Acropolis  
from the south edge of the  
former Late Antique city,  
looking northeast (1965)



Fig. 1: Pergamum, medieval house ruins on the southeast slopes of the Acropolis (2001)



Fig. 2: Pergamum, main street (left) and Byzantine church (far right) and houses on the southeast slope of the Acropolis, looking east (2001)

PLATE 10



Fig. 1: Auxerre on the Yonne, with the Cathedral of Saint Stephen (far right) (1964)



Fig. 2: Zeytinbagi (Tirilye), town center looking west, with the Byzantine medieval church (left of center) (1965)



Fig. 1: Mistra, main street and side street (far left) (1975)



Fig. 2: Monemvasia, Church of Saint Sophia looking northwest (1957)





Fig. 2: Rome, honorific column in the Forum



Fig. 1: Daphni, katholikon, interior looking east



Fig. 1:  
Constantinople,  
porphyry column  
(1991)



Fig. 2: Venice, Piazzetta with the red porphyry columns in the background (1959)



Fig. 1: Athens, Byzantine Cathedral (Parthenon) from the Propyleum (1957)



Fig. 2: Pergamum, Kizil Avli, interior looking northwest (1965)



Fig. 1: Ephesus, Arcadiane, looking northwest (1975)



Fig. 2: Ostia, Street of the Balconies (1984)



Fig. 1: Grado, Santa Maria delle Grazie from the southwest (1964)



Fig. 2: Aphrodisias, Temple of Aphrodite from the southwest (1998)





Fig. 1: Istanbul, Saint Sophia, looking northeast (1966)



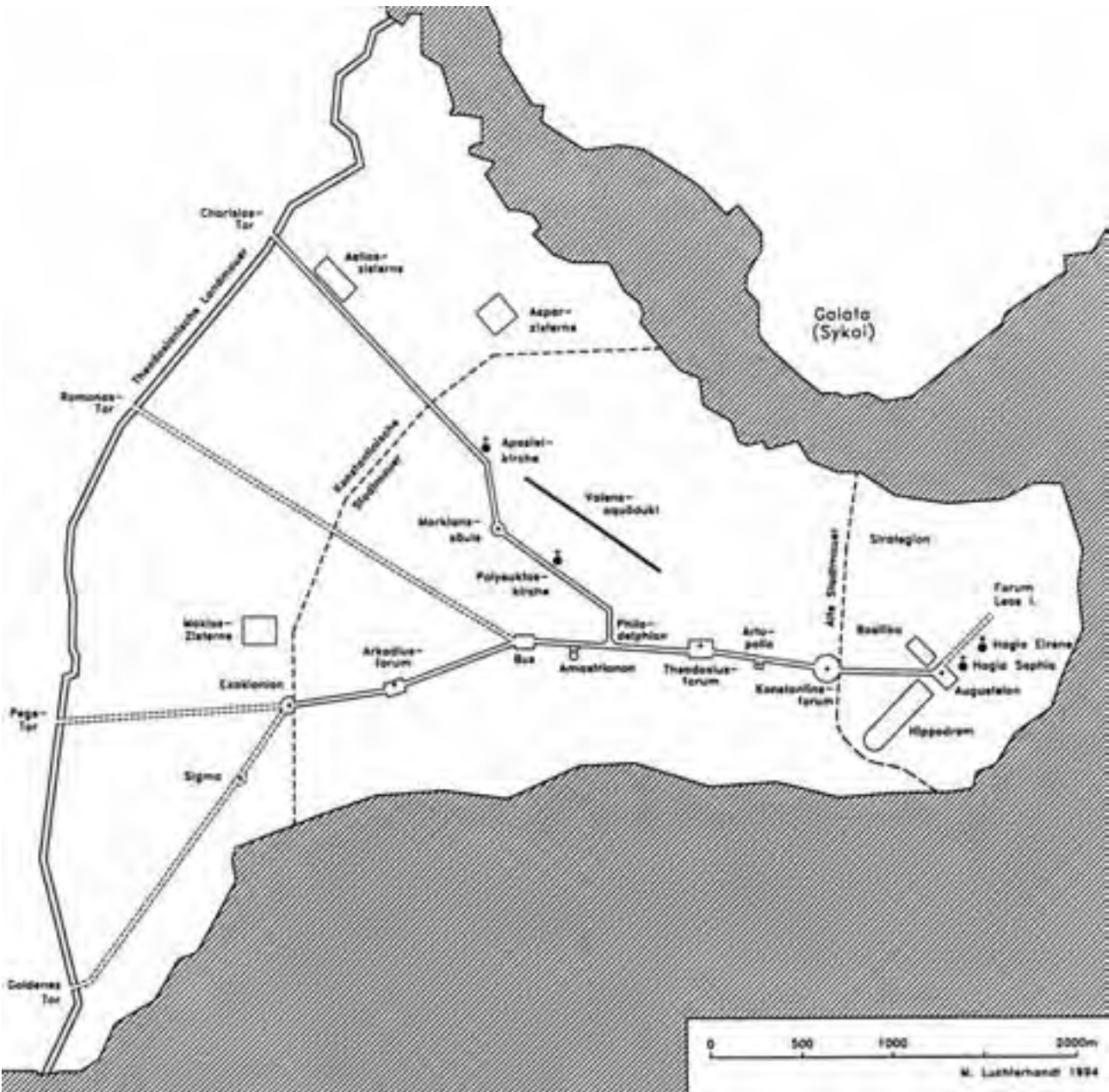


Fig. 1: Constantinople during the Early Byzantine period, city map



Fig. 1: Caričin Grad excavation, city map

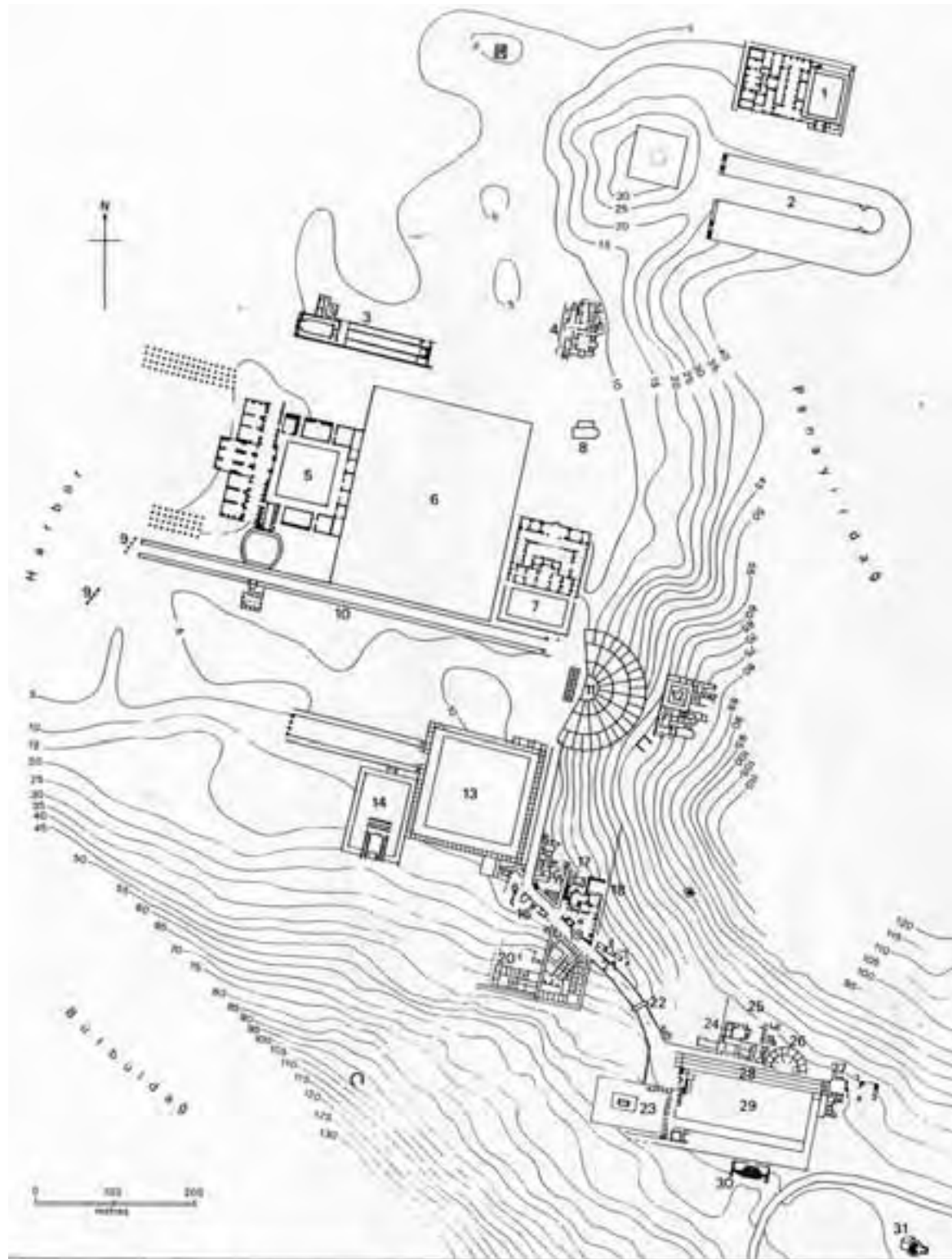


Fig. 12. Plan of late antique Ephesus. 1, Gymnasium of Vedius; 2, Stadium; 3, Church of St Mary; 4, Governor's Palace; 5, Baths of Constantius; 6, ruined Palaestra, eventually covered with houses; 7, Theater Gymnasium; 8, possible synagogue; 9, Harbor gates; 10, Arcadiane; 11, Theater; 12, villa above Theater; 13, Agora; 14, Temple of Serapis; 15, Library of Celsus; 16, Roman monuments; 17, private dwellings; 18, Baths of Scholastica; 19, Temple of Hadrian; 20, apartment houses; 21, Embolos; 22, arch; 23, Temple of Domitian; 24, Prytaneum; 25, houses; 26, Senate House; 27, Bath of Varius; 28, Basilica; 29, Upper Agora; 30, Nymphaeum; 31, 'Tomb of St Luke'. (Redrawn after *Forschungen in Ephesus* Suppl. XII, Plan 1)

Fig. 1: Ephesus, city map (Foss, Ephesos after Antiquity)



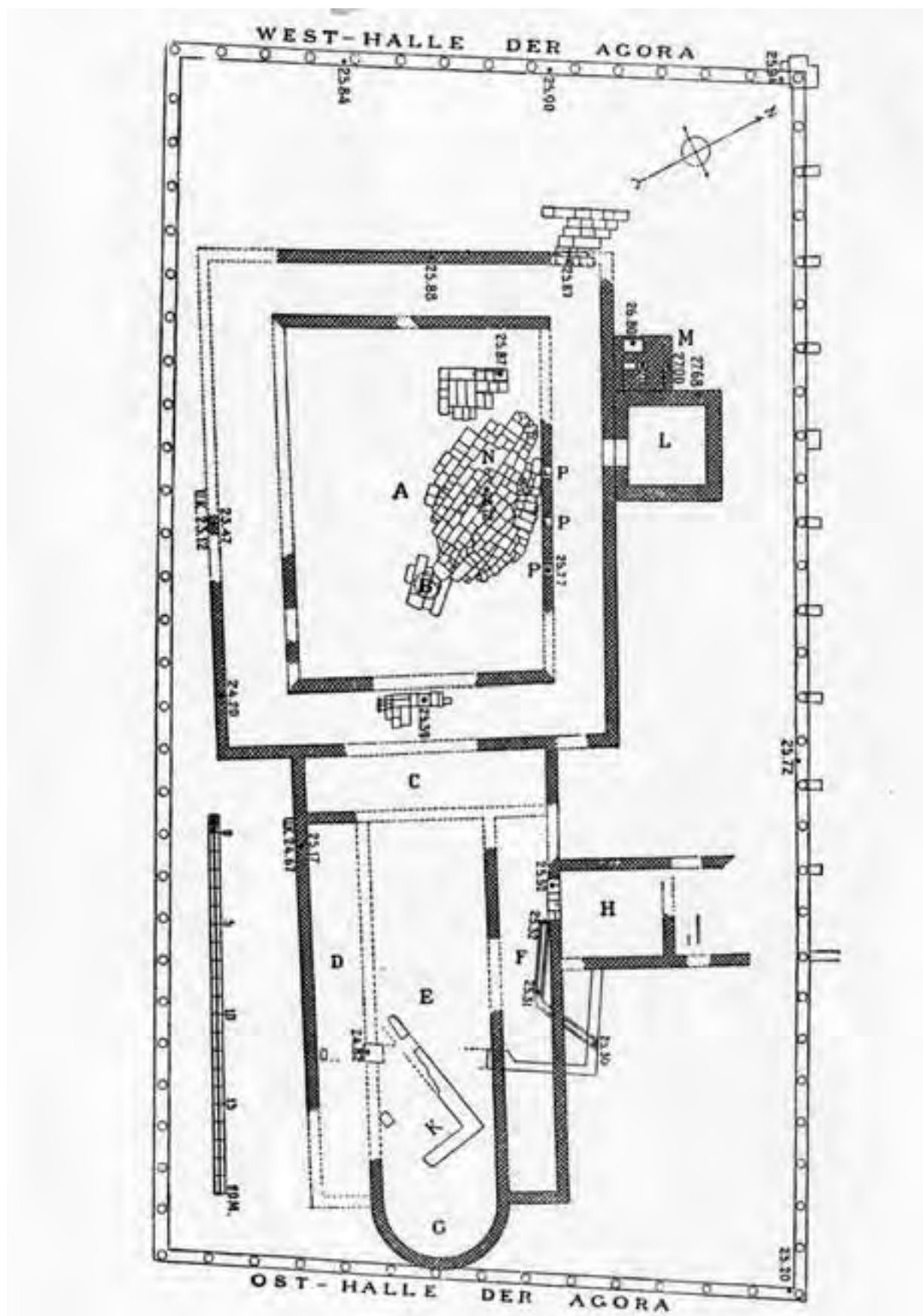


Fig. 1: Pergamum, Church in the Lower Agora, floor plan

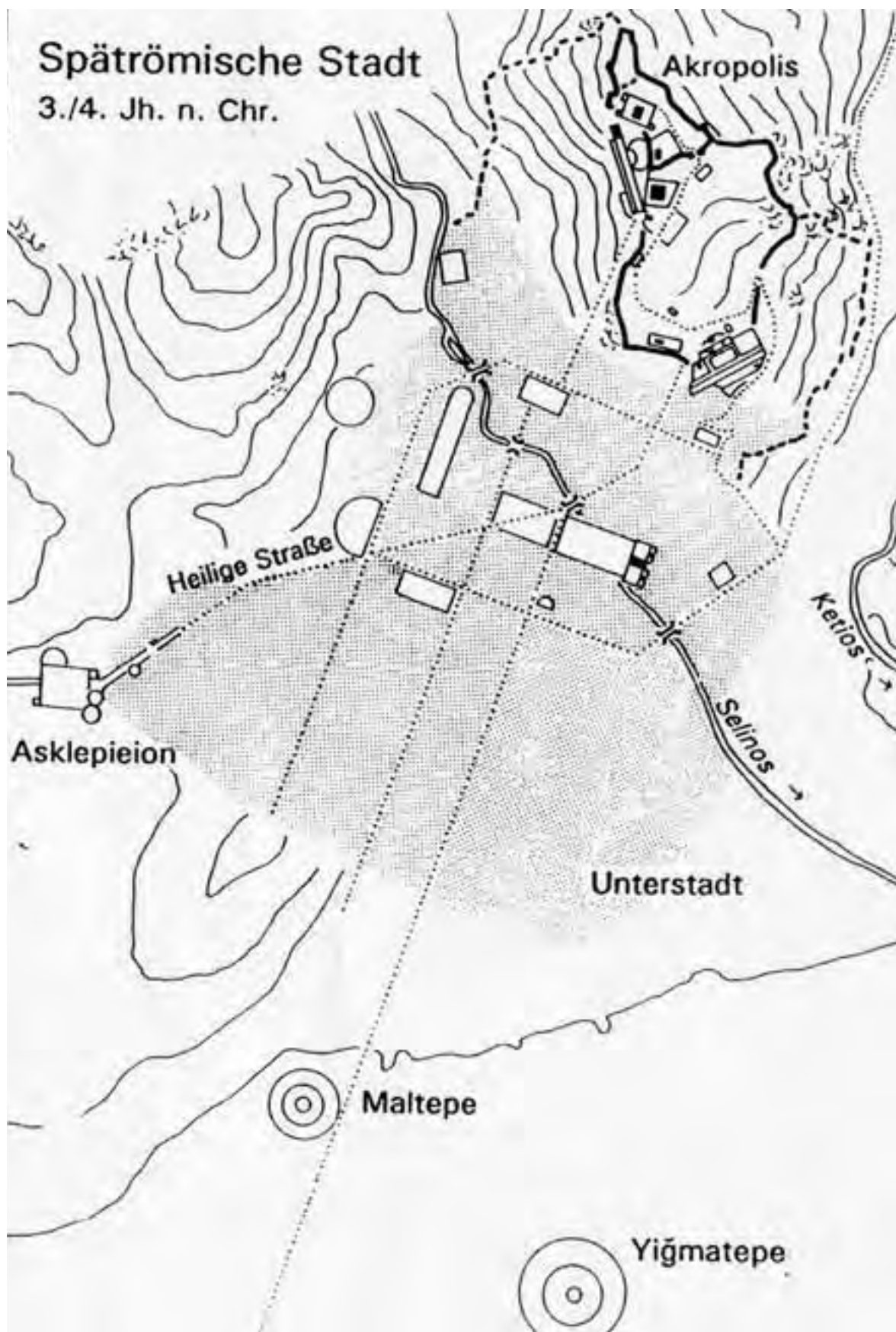


Fig. 1: Pergamum, regional map showing city during different periods (WULFF, *IstMitt* 44)





Fig. 1: Pergamum, map of the southeast slopes of the Acropolis, 1986 (RHEIDT, Stadtgrabung 2)

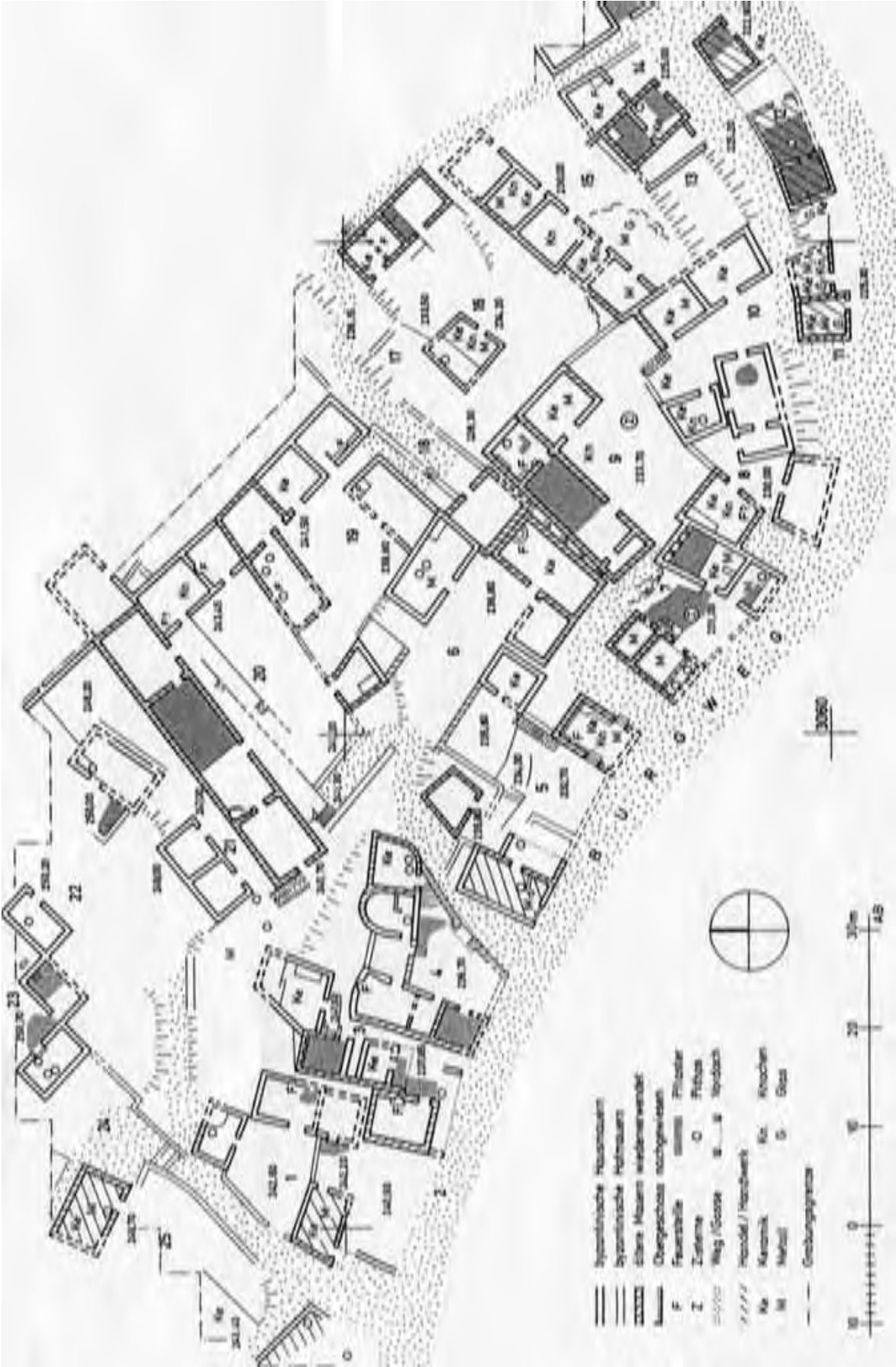


Fig. 1: Pergamum, map of medieval houses on the southeast slopes of the Acropolis (RHEIDT, Stadtgrabung 2)





Fig. 1: Byzantine coins and lead seals recently found in London:

Top row: Coins Nos. 3, 2, 1; seals Nos. 3 & 4

Lower row: Coin No. 4 & later issue of Manuel I Comnenus; seals Nos. 1 & 2

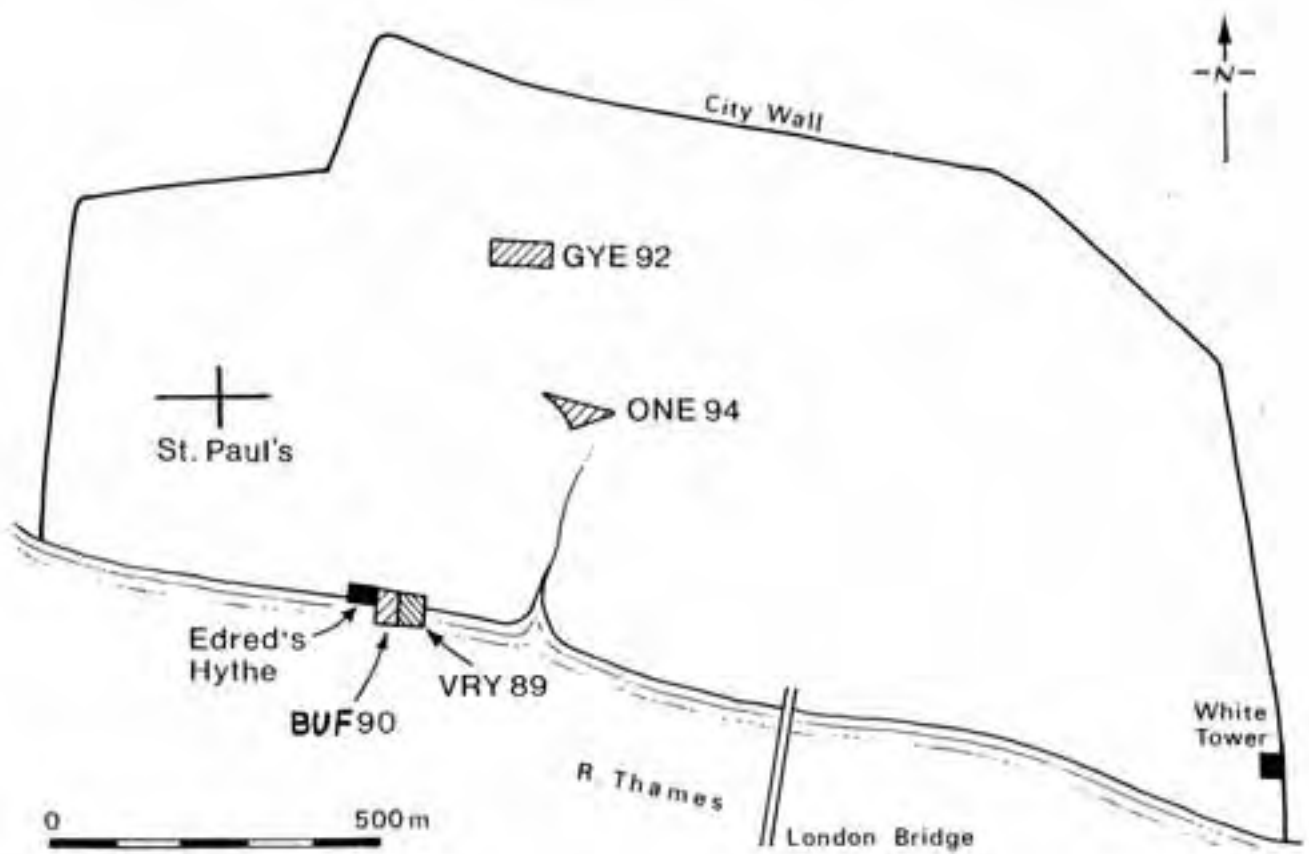


Fig. 1: London sites location map (drawn by Nicholas Griffiths) (the status of London Bridge at the period under discussion is uncertain)

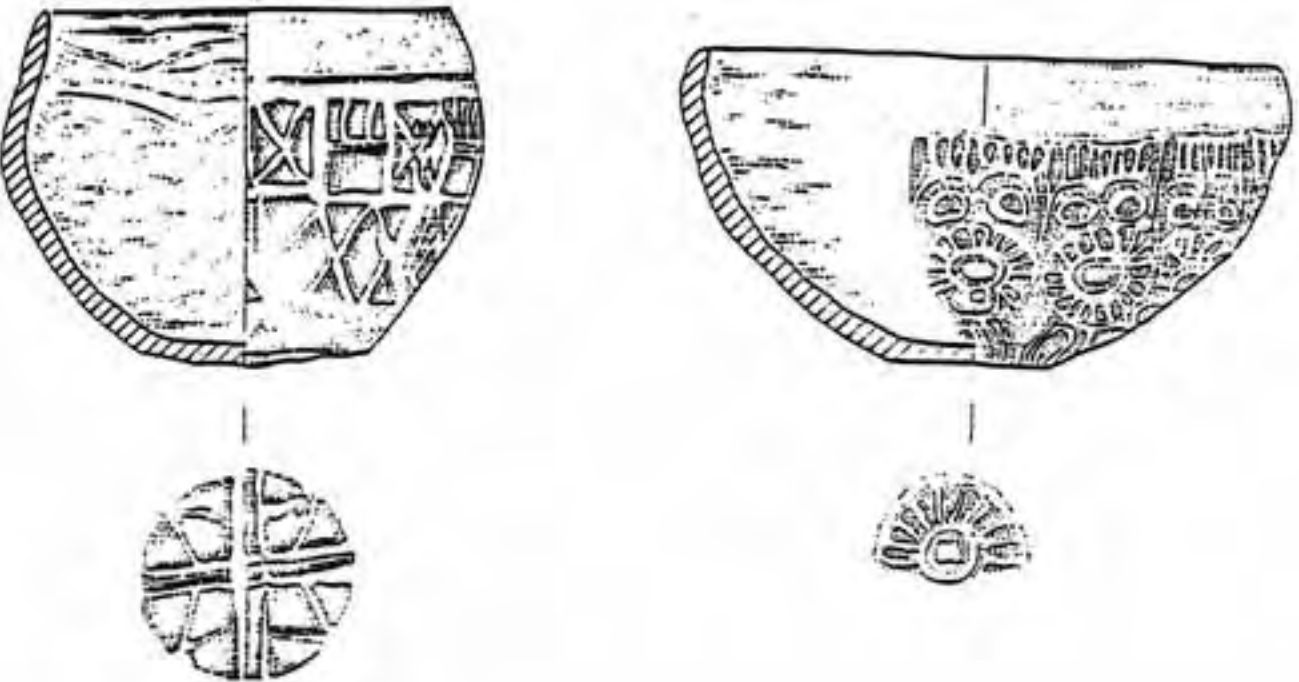


Fig. 2: So called "Crowland Abbey ware" bowl fragments, 1:4



Fig. 1: Mystra. Peribleptos. Exterior, southwest



Fig. 2: Mystra. Hagia Sophia. Enthroned Christ, apse



Fig. 3: Mystra. Hagia Sophia. Northeastern chapel. Crucifixion



Fig. 4: Mystra. Hagia Sophia. Southeastern chapel. Divine Liturgy





Fig. 1: Mystra. Hagia Sophia. Southeastern chapel.  
Birth of the Virgin



Fig. 2: Mystra. Peribleptos. Anapeson



Fig. 3: Mystra. Hodegetria (Aphendiko). Exterior, southeast



Fig. 4: Mystra. Hodegetria (Aphendiko). Zacharias



Fig. 1: Mystra. Hodegetria (Aphendiko). Healing of the Blind



Fig. 2: Mystra Hodegetraia (Aphendiko). Healing of Peter's Mother-in-law



Fig. 3: Mystra. Hodegetria (Aphendiko). Healing of the Man with the Dropsy



Fig. 4: Mystra. Hodegetria (Aphendiko). Jesus and the Woman of Samaria and the Wedding at Cana



Fig. 1: Mystra. Hodegetria (Aphendiko). The Virgin as the Life-giving Source between Joachim and Anne



Fig. 2: Mystra. Pantanassa. Exterior, southeast



Fig. 1:  
Mystra.  
Pantanassa.  
Dome of  
Western  
Gallery. Virgin  
and Christ



Fig. 2: Mystra. Pantanassa. Resurrection of Christ



Fig. 1:  
Mystra. Pantanassa.  
Annunciation



Fig. 2:  
Mystra. Pantanassa.  
Nativity



Fig. 3:  
Mystra. Pantanassa.  
Entry of Christ into  
Jerusalem





Fig. 1: Good Shepherd



Fig. 2: Orpheus



Fig. 3: Ilissos basilica



Fig. 4: 'Martyrs' Table'



Fig. 1: Purple codex



Fig. 2: Thesaurus of Lesbos



Fig. 3: The Crucifixion



Fig. 4: The Virgin Episkepsis





Fig. 1: Archangel Michael

Fig. 2:  
Epitrachelion



Fig. 4:  
Crusader  
panoply



Fig. 3: Vase for domestic use



Fig. 1: Ascension from Lefkada



Fig. 2: Communion chalice



Fig. 3: Sakkos



Fig. 4: Island fanlight

Fig. 1:  
Sakkos (Inv. No 754), front,  
17<sup>th</sup> century, Byzantine and  
Christian Museum, Athens



Fig. 2:  
Sakkos (Inv. No 754), back,  
17<sup>th</sup> century, Byzantine and  
Christian Museum, Athens







Fig. 1: Sakkos (Inv. No 754), detail, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens



Fig. 2:  
Icon, Christ the Vine,  
Angelos, 15<sup>th</sup> century,  
Kenourgio, Crete,  
Monastery of the Hodegetria



Fig. 1: Sakkos of Cyril the Cretan, front, 17<sup>th</sup> century, Sinai



Fig. 2: Sakkos of Cyril the Cretan, back, 17<sup>th</sup> century, Sinai



Fig. 3: Bema doors, the Annunciation 15<sup>th</sup> century, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens



Fig. 4: Sakkos (Inv. No 754), Cherub, detail, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens





Fig. 1: Sakkos (Inv. No 754), Bicephalous Eagle, detail, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens



Fig. 2:  
Icon, the Tree of  
Jesse, beginning of  
17<sup>th</sup> century,  
Pushkin Museum



Fig. 3: Icon, the Allegory of the Eucharist, Michael Damaskenos, 16<sup>th</sup> century, Kerkyra, Monastery of Virgin Platyttera



Fig. 4: Icon, (Inv. No 396), Nativity, 1638, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens



Fig. 1: Vat. urb. gr. 2, fol 167<sup>v</sup> (circa 1125). The birth of Saint John the Baptist



Fig. 2: Asinou, Panagia Phorbiotissa (1105/6). The Martyrdom of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia



Fig. 3: Kastoria, Hagioi Anargyroi (circa 1180). Saint George and Saint Demetrios





Fig. 1: Thessalonica, Saint Nikolaos Orphanos (1310–20). Christ before Pilate



Fig. 2:  
Ohrid, Peribleptos  
(1294/95).  
Saint Merkourios